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ABSTRACT

The final report of the Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution is presented. The Commission recommends that the federal government establish the United States Academy of Peace. After discussing the timeliness of U.S. leadership in international peace education and research through the proposed federal peace institution, the Commission's legislative mandate and process are outlined. The need for the academy is considered with attention to peace and conflict concepts, the dangers from violent escalation of international conflicts, the nation's heritage of peace and violence, and the importance of a range of peacemaking options. The nation's international peace activities are considered within the context of the three basic societal sectors--government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations. The processes of negotiation, mediation, and conciliation are also addressed. In addition to defining the field of peace learning, the work of three branches of peace research are described. The proposed design for the Academy of Peace is covered, along with the major findings and conclusions of the Commission. Appendices include draft legislation for the academy, the text of Title XV--Part B of Public Law 95-561, establishing the Commission, and information on Commission activities and participants. (SW)

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From The Office Of
SPARK MATSUNAGA
U.S. Senator

To Establish

The United States Academy of Peace

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Report of the Commission on Proposals for the
National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution
to the President of the United States and the
Senate and House of Representatives of
the United States Congress

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U.S. COMMISSION
ON PROPOSALS FOR THE
NATIONAL ACADEMY OF PEACE
AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION
Dr. Laue
Mr. IRELAND
Mr. STUDDS

Commission Vice Chairman James Laue, Commission Chairman Spark Matsunaga, Commissioner Elise Boulding

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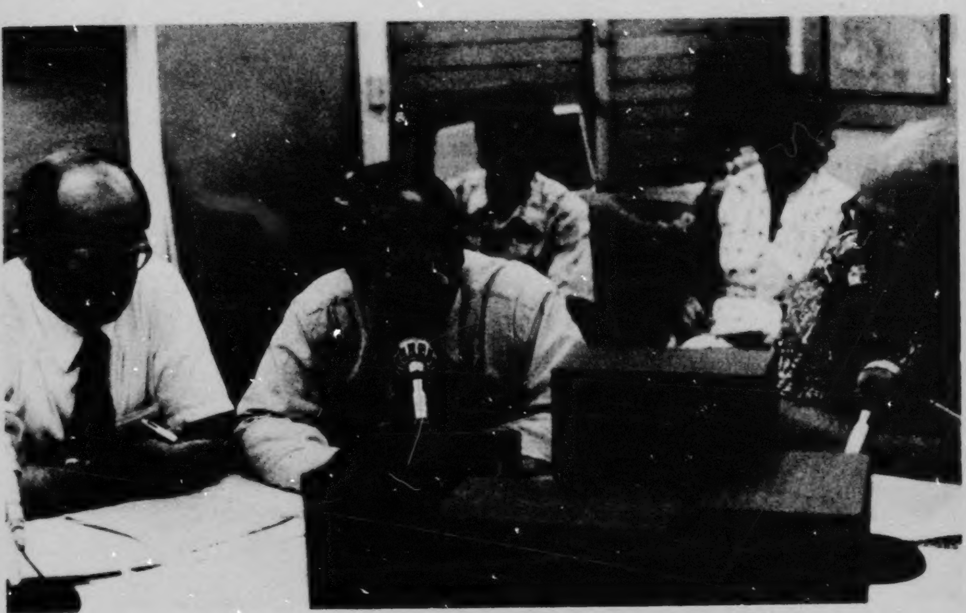
Commissioners John Ashbrook and Elise Boulding

Commissioner Dan Glickman

Commissioner John Dunfey

Commissioner William Lincoln

Commissioners Arthur Barnes and John Dellenback



Commission Vice Chairman James Laue, Commission Chairman Spark Matsunaga, Commissioner John Dellenback at PEACESAT Network, University of Hawaii

Preface by Commission Chairman Spark Matsunaga

This report contains good news. For over 200 years, American leaders have urged creation of a federal institution devoted to the peace education and peacemaking capacities of the American people and their government. That major step is poised to be taken now with establishment of the United States Academy of Peace. This report is about that idea and that new institution. I commend it to your attention.

The United States has no interest greater than international peace. In this century, Americans have fought and died in two world wars, in Korea and Vietnam, and in other smaller and briefer conflicts. We are experienced in the bitterness of war and its impact on our economy, politics, and ability to concentrate on serious national problems. We know the drain of preparation for war, and we know that uncertain world conditions compel such expenditures. We know that, whether from cries for justice and freedom or from natural and manmade disruptions to daily toil, international conflicts inevitably affect us. And we know that when there is war or the likelihood of war, there is no real national security; that was true before the nuclear age and is ever more true today.

That political and economic conflicts mark our days is not a cause for despair; it is, however, a cause for concern. We must ask whether or not we have done what we can with ourselves and our resources to develop ways to manage international conflict, to reduce the incidence of violence, and to promote a more peaceful world. In addressing the 1963 graduates of The American University, President John F. Kennedy spoke of peace as "the necessary rational end of rational men" and observed that "the pursuit of peace is not as dramatic as the pursuit of war ... but we have no more urgent task." He was not referring to a vague concept of universal goodwill, but to a practical and attainable peace "based not on a sudden revolution in human nature, but on a gradual evolution in human institutions." Because the challenge is clear and the need immediate, I am optimistic about Americans supporting the establishment of the United States Academy of Peace.

When Senators Mark Hatfield, Jennings Randolph and I cosponsored legislation to create the Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution, we understood the skepticism about a federal peace institution and the need to examine the idea closely. We agreed that caution should accompany such an unprecedented move, and that a commission using academic scrutiny and political outreach and sensitivity could test and refine the proposal. The Commission did precisely that. It has answered the questions in its mandate and shown the need and timeliness for the Congress and the President to establish a federal institution for international peace research, education and training, and information services.

In transmitting the Commission's report to President Ronald Reagan, Senate President Pro Tempore Strom Thurmond, and Speaker of the House Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., I urge their special attention to the opportunity presented in the United States

Academy of Peace. The proposed Academy will enhance the understanding of peace and peacemaking among people in government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations. The Commission specifically recommends that the Academy itself not engage in policymaking or dispute intervention. Members of Congress and the Executive Branch and the citizenry in general will recognize these limitations as important to maintaining the broadest range of inquiry and to situating the Academy prominently in the eyes of the world as a major, nonadvocacy peace institution of this Nation.

There is substantial debate today over the proper role of government. International peace clearly is a fundamental federal concern residing in Congress and in the Office of the President. Aspects of the quest for international peace are woven into the activities of virtually all federal departments and agencies as well as those of many state and local governments. It is equally true that issues of international peace concern all Americans and are pursued by many through international organizations, business, labor, religious groups and educational and nonprofit institutions. Throughout this report, including the stories of Diego Asencio, Roger Fisher, and John Adams, the breadth of American peacemaking activities is made plain.

The Commission concluded, and I fully concur, that there is a necessary and proper federal role in serving the Nation through international peace research, education and training, and information services. These functions are complementary and best carried out in concert. Without the focus and stimulation that only the federal government can supply, it is unlikely that the promise from refinement and broad participation in peace knowledge and skill will be realized. Unless the federal government exercises its leadership in this area, peace will not flourish fully, despite its profound basis in our Nation's heritage.

As rational Americans in pursuit of a rational end, we should bear in mind the teaching of the great Chinese philosopher Confucius: "There will be no peace until the individual citizen wants it, seeks it, and works for it." If peace is a risk, never won for sure but held for the day, then we must know its ways and means surely today and tomorrow. Establishment of the United States Academy of Peace will be a bold action toward the attainment of this greatest of our national goals.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION ON PROPOSALS FOR THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

The Honorable Spark M. Matsunaga, Chairman
United States Senator (from Hawaii)
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

Dr. James H. Laue, Vice Chairman
Director, Center for Metropolitan Studies
University of Missouri-St. Louis
St. Louis, Missouri

The Honorable John M. Ashbrook
United States Representative (from Ohio)
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Arthur H. Barnes
President, New York Urban Coalition
New York, New York

Dr. Elise Boulding
Chair, Department of Sociology
Dartmouth College
Hanover, New Hampshire

The Honorable John R. Dellenback
President, Christian College Consortium & Coalition
Washington, D.C.

Mr. John P. Dunfey
President, Dunfey Hotel Corporation
Hampton, New Hampshire

The Honorable Dan Glickman
United States Representative (from Kansas)
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

Mr. William F. Lincoln
Director, Center for Collaborative Planning and
Community Services
Watertown, Massachusetts

Commission Commendation of Report and Proposal

The undersigned Members of the Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution hereby commend this final report to the President of the United States and to the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States Congress and recommend that the Federal Government establish the United States Academy of Peace.

Spark Matsunaga

Spark M. Matsunaga
Chairman

James H. Laue

James H. Laue
Vice Chairman

Arthur H. Barnes

Arthur H. Barnes

Elise Boulding

Elise Boulding

John R. Dellenback

John P. Dunfey

Dan Glickman

Dan Glickman

William F. Lincoln

William F. Lincoln

NOTE OF APPRECIATION

The Commission thanks all who participated in its activities, many of whom are listed in Appendix E of this report. Guided by Staff Director William J. Spencer, Deputy Director David C. Jehnsen, Director of Program Operations Leslie H. Carter, and Director of Administration Ruthe J. Farmer, Commission staff met complex research, analytic, and logistical demands with care and sensitivity. The Commissioners are grateful for the skill, devotion, and energy of the staff. The final report was organized and written by Charles Duryea Smith, Special Assistant to the Chairman, in close collaboration with the Commissioners and staff. Judith Bunnell assisted in its early research; Ruth Gutama drafted sections of the final report; and William Spencer and David Jehnsen contributed to both the research and the drafting. The Commission extends special appreciation to them all. Finally, any short-lived federal commission relies upon departments and agencies to help it meet public obligations. During and after the change from Office to Department, the Department of Education served the Commission well. The Commission thanks the Department for its support and, in particular, Committee Management staff Ann Bailey, Linda Bugg, and their colleagues.

COMMISSION STAFF

William J. Spencer	Director
David C. Jehnsen	Deputy Director

Final Report Special Staff

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Ruth Gutama	Editorial Associate

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*Consultant

Report Summary

TO ESTABLISH THE UNITED STATES ACADEMY OF PEACE is the final report of the Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution. Fulfilling its mandate under Public Law 95-561, the Commission transmitted its report to the President and each House of the Congress of the United States.

The Commission's principal recommendation is that the federal government establish the United States Academy of Peace. This federally-funded, nonprofit, independent corporation will assist in the attainment of the Nation's goal of promoting international peace by developing knowledge of the processes and elements of peace among nations; educating and training people in the problem-solving skills of conflict resolution as they pertain to international peace; informing citizens and noncitizens, including government decision-makers at all levels, of peaceful methods of international conflict resolution; and advancing co-operation among peoples. The Academy's charter, set forth in draft legislation in Appendix A, provides for three major functions, to be augmented by outreach and extension capability: research, education and training, and information services on international peace and peacemaking.

The Commission bases its recommendation upon legislatively-mandated studies of theories and techniques for conflict resolution between nations and of existing institutions which promote international peace, in addition to 12 public hearings across the Nation and numerous other meetings and communications. Within its findings, the Commission determined that:

* the danger to national and international peace

and security from violent escalation of political, economic, and cultural conflicts could be reduced by rigorous development of a range of effective conflict response options, in addition to military capacity;

* the worldwide activities of Americans and the Nation's rich peace heritage provide an important foundation for international peacemaking and for understanding and using the interplay among peace-promoting processes at all levels of society; and

* inadequate use of peace-related knowledge and expertise developed by research, education, and training in the interdisciplinary field of peace learning has limited the effectiveness of the Nation's policymaking and policy implementation in international affairs, conflicts, and war.

The Commission's report begins with a Preface by United States Senator Spark Matsunaga, the Commission's Chairman. It establishes the timeliness and propriety of federal stewardship and United States leadership in international peace education and research through the United States Academy of Peace. Chapter I introduces the report, and Chapter II sets out the Commission's legislative mandate and process. Chapter III presents a synopsis of the Commission's principal recommendation and major findings and conclusions. Chapter IV details the need for the United States Academy of Peace by introducing peace and conflict concepts, describing the dangers from violent escalation of international conflicts, reviewing the Nation's heritage of peace and violence, and showing the importance of a range of peacemaking options.

Chapter V situates the Nation's international peace activities within the three basic sectors of

American society--government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations--and illustrates the processes of negotiation, mediation, and conciliation through first-person accounts by Ambassador Diego Asencio, Professor Roger Fisher, and the Reverend John Adams. Chapter VI defines the field of peace learning, describes the work of the three branches of peace research (peace as absence of war, peace as social justice, and peacemaking techniques), and considers the international extension of national conflict resolution experiences. Chapter VII presents the Commission's proposed design for the United States Academy of Peace and explains the utility of the proposal to the application of peacemaking knowledge and skills. Chapter VIII concludes the report and urges attention to the Commission's analyses and recommendations by the President, the Congress, and the public. Six appendixes and an index follow individual Commissioner statements.

I

Introduction

America's heritage, power, and prestige make the United States a major force for international peace. In light of the precarious world situation, the Congress and the President created, through Public Law 95-561, the Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution. Recognizing the great peacemaking capacity of this Nation, the Commission recommends that the President and the Congress establish the United States Academy of Peace.

The concept of a federal peace institution originated with the Nation's founders; the Academy proposed by the Commission is rooted in the concept of America. The United States today has no interest greater than international peace. Creating the United States Academy of Peace is a timely, useful, and necessary investment for the Nation and for the world.

The Academy will be an interdisciplinary institution devoted to international peace. It will serve institutions and people in public and private life through complementary programs of peace research, education and training, and information services. Its work will focus on the elements of peace, the causes of war, and the skills needed for resolution of international conflicts without violence. It will inform and respond to concerns and activities of Members of Congress, the Executive Branch including the Departments of State and Defense, and persons in private enterprise and voluntary associations.

To ensure its inquiries are full and its programs most useful to this Nation and other nations, the Academy will not have policymaking or dispute intervention authority. The Academy will facilitate rather than compete with the peace interests and programs of government, business, labor, religious groups, international organizations, and educational and other nonprofit institutions. Participation in the Academy's programs will strengthen the peace efforts at all levels of society of both public and private sector institutions, including those of specialized schools of diplomacy and military training where traditional departmental alignments and policy and service emphases often impede cross-disciplinary peace scholarship and education and innovative training in peacemaking skills.

Throughout 1980, the Commission heard from thousands of people across the country, examined international, national, and community-based peace institutions and capacities, and assessed the current state of peace learning and its use. Both expert and citizen witnesses illustrated the extensive peacemaking experience and great untapped potential of people in government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations across the Nation.

The Commission concluded that a focused federal investment in international peace and conflict resolution is in the national interest and is necessary to stimulate broad government and private and voluntary sector activity in international peace endeavors. Further, the Commission concluded that the interlocking goals of international peace and national security require the full exercise of peacemaking knowledge and skill to meet international conflict without the cost of violence. In recommending creation of the United States Academy of Peace, the Commission drew upon the following findings:

* national and international peace and security face grave danger from violent escalation of political, economic, and cultural conflicts;

* international peace and national security require use of a range of effective options, in addition to military capacity, to leash international violence and to manage international conflict;

* Americans have extensive national experience in resolving conflicts without violence due to the peacemaking talents created from our constitutional, democratic, free enterprise, and immigrant heritage;

* through the worldwide activities of government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations, Americans can expand their own and others' cross-cultural insights and abilities necessary to promote peace at all levels of society;

* during the past 30 years, peace theory, scholarship, and education have become a rigorous interdisciplinary field of learning;

* achieving community and national peace as well as international peace requires an understanding of the relationships among conflict at these three levels of society, especially conflicts over ethnic, religious, and justice issues;

* people can be trained in both simple and sophisticated peacemaking skills and techniques, including negotiation, conciliation, mediation, and arbitration; and

* inadequate use of peace-related knowledge and expertise has been

> costly to the Nation and the world and has limited the effectiveness of policymaking and policy implementation in international affairs, conflicts, and war.

The Commission is confident that its design for the Academy--the first such institution in American history--is the most efficient and immediate catalyst to release the strong peace energies of the Nation. The Academy will be a federally-created, nonprofit, independent corporation. Its core budget will come from federal appropriation, and it will solicit supplemental private funding. It will locate its principal facilities within easy reach of Washington, D.C. and will develop outreach and extension programs to serve people across the country. Uninhibited by the daily demands of policy and dispute management, it will respond to the expressed needs of and will inform, educate, and train Congressional Members and staff and mid-career and other personnel from government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations using knowledge and training tools built upon a solid foundation in the Nation's heritage and in the field of peace learning.

Americans are renowned for creating new institutions and methods to meet pressing public needs. When the American people and peoples of other nations call for United States leadership in meeting international problems, the federal government traditionally responds with vigor, care, and the knowledge that its efforts can stimulate the energies of Americans and others throughout the world. In this age of nuclear weaponry, international terrorism, and fragmenting institutions, the need for the United States Academy of Peace is great and its cost is relatively small. In lives saved, wars not fought, conflicts managed creatively and without violence, and international economic and cultural activity enjoyed, this federal investment in the Nation's peace capacities will have significant dividends. The United States Academy of

Peace will advance the promise and spirit of America as the hope of all peoples.

II

Commission Legislative Mandate and Process

THE LEGISLATIVE MANDATE
AND
OVERVIEW OF THE REPORT

Public Law 95-561 established the Commission and its mandate as part of the 1978 Education Amendments to Title XV of the United States Code.* The law directed the Commission to study the theories and techniques of peace and the existing institutions involved in resolving conflicts among nations. From these analyses, the Commission was mandated to determine whether there should be a national academy of peace and, if so, its size, cost, location, and relationships with institutions of higher education and the Federal Government. These evaluations were to be transmitted in "a final report to the President and to each House of the Congress."

Through this final report, which has been transmitted to President Ronald Reagan, Senate President Pro Tempore Strom Thurmond, and Speaker of the House Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., the Commission shares with them and other readers its own assessments and views as well as much of the range of what it heard from people throughout the country. Following is a short guide to the report; all quotations are from P.L. 95-561.

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*Sources for quotations and other references are listed by text page number under Notes, beginning on page 193.

Taken as a whole, the report responds with strong affirmation to the question "whether to establish a National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution." The Commission's principal recommendation is to establish the United States Academy of Peace.

The report opens with a Preface by Commission Chairman, United States Senator Spark Matsunaga of Hawaii. Chairman Matsunaga reviews a number of compelling reasons to create the United States Academy of Peace and underscores the propriety and need for federal stewardship in this area.

Chapter I introduces the report and Chapter II outlines where legislatively-directed and other topics are discussed and provides a brief synopsis of the Commission's process. Chapter III presents the Commission's principal recommendations and reports the Commission's eight major findings and conclusions which structure the substantive discussions of Chapters IV, V, VI, and VII.

Chapter IV discusses the need for the United States Academy of Peace. It opens with an overview of problems that threaten international peace and the need to protect against violent escalation of international conflict. The next section reflects upon the history that led to the Commission's creation and upon the American heritage for peace. It looks at aspects of the American experience which clarify peacemaking theories and techniques and demonstrate the special peacemaking potential of the United States and its people. Finally it addresses a fundamental principle of international relations: the fullest range of options and expertise to meet international conflict effectively must be developed in response to "the goal of promoting peace" and to reduce the likelihood of war. Better use of peacemaking knowledge can reduce the frequency and intensity of international conflicts and the high public and private costs that accompany them.

Chapter V considers the scope of American international activities and the challenges Americans face in understanding and applying peace theories and techniques. The Commission found it useful to view Americans acting internationally--and thus the potential beneficiaries of the Academy--from three institutional bases: government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations. Each base is described and illustrated institutionally and then amplified by a first-person account of Americans using conflict resolution skills internationally. Three selected accounts--by Diego Asencio, Roger Fisher, and John Adams--tell of negotiation, mediation, and conciliation and introduce "the theory and techniques of peaceful and resolution of conflict between nations" which can be taught and applied.

Chapter VI introduces the field of peace learning. It shows that theory and techniques are better developed than commonly thought and are subject to rigorous and multidisciplinary scholarship, education, and training. It suggests that a federal investment in the field will strengthen the study of international relations, diplomacy, and peace in "existing institutions of higher education" and will assist federal policymaking. The chapter closes with a discussion of the relationship between intranational conflict resolution, particularly as developed in the United States, and international peace.

Chapter VII explains what the proposed United States Academy of Peace is and is not and describes its structure. It sets out "the size, cost, and location of an Academy" and discusses "the effects which the establishment of an Academy would have on existing institutions of higher education," including "the feasibility of making grants and providing other forms of assistance" to those institutions, and "the relationship which would exist between an Academy and the Federal Government." The chapter also assesses ways in which the Academy, through interrelated programs of research, education and training, and information services, is the most cost-effective design to promote better use of peacemaking knowledge and skills.

Chapter VIII concludes the main body of the Commission's final report and urges that the American public as well as the Congress and the President give serious attention to establishing the United States Academy of Peace.

Individual statements by Commissioners follow chapter notes. Between those statements and an index are six appendices: A--legislation to establish the United States Academy of Peace; B--Public Law 95-561, which created the Commission; C--biographies of Commissioners; D--the Commission process; E--lists of Commission activities and of all persons recorded as participants in the Commission's public seminars and other formal meetings; and F--a selected bibliography on peace and peacemaking.

THE COMMISSION PROCESS

Commissions are hybrid institutions. Whether Presidential creations or, less commonly, joint creations of the Congress and the President as is this Commission, they combine the strengths of academic inquiry and political processes. Using insight and substantive expertise, commission appointees try to answer questions that have eluded legislative or executive solution. Their mandates usually cover topics that are novel, tangled in complexity, or heated and politically explosive. Commissions have proved to be more successful than commonly thought, as their views crystallize issues over time and shape the dimension of debate. In part, this is because their processes are dynamic and follow from authority to undertake research and public outreach and to recommend action.

The members of this Commission represent many years of activity over issues of peace and conflict at international, national, and community levels. They bring to their responsibilities varied emphases and concerns and deep devotion to the principles of the United States. This report to the President and each House of the Congress represents those beliefs, reflects an open Commission process that, in itself, is fundamentally American, and concludes that establishment of the United States Academy of Peace will promote the national interest in securing the twin goals of national security and international peace.

The Commission process had three main components: research, public outreach, and deliberation on findings, conclusions, and recommendations. The following encapsules the steps the Commission took in meeting its mandate.

The Commission developed a research plan to guide staff as well as a small number of short-term consultants. As original research would be severely limited by the time constraints of the Commission's life, the Commission reviewed the "state of the art" of peace and conflict resolution and institutional interests, strengths, and weaknesses as they pertain to international peace processes. To accomplish this, studies were made of peace-making theory and techniques; institutions involved in international peace; the state of peace research, education, and training; and mechanisms used by the federal government to respond to unmet needs.

Research was supplemented and public outreach accomplished through more than 50 private meetings with educators, practitioners, and interest groups and 12 public hearings at sites broadly representing the Nation's regions. The traditional hearing format, concentrating on invited expert witnesses, was expanded into "public seminars" that brought greater public participation than is usual. The seminars were well-publicized and accessible, and the Commission employed Regional Coordinators to organize public attendance. Participation was encouraged through Commissioners, staff, and the public caucusing in small groups for discussion around particular issues, with reports given later in full public session. In addition to the views expressed in small group discussions and by invited speakers and witnesses--who were selected for their special experience and range of political opinions and attitudes toward the Commission's mandate--each public seminar included an "open mike" time for feedback and reflections from any audience member directly to the Commission. The Commission recommends its public seminar concept to other commissions as a valuable way to organize substantial and useful public participation.

During late 1979 and in 1980, Commissioners held two half-day and six day-long public meetings to organize their work, determine findings, debate conclusions, and develop recommendations. On July 24, the Commission voted to recommend federal establishment of the United States Academy of Peace. The precise contours, authority, and limitations of this proposed new institution were developed at later meetings and are presented in Chapter VII and draft legislation in Appendix A.

The Commission believes its process was thorough and fully responsive to its legislative mandate. As its activities close with this report, it urges that the inquiry it has begun continue in both Houses of the Congress, in the Executive Branch, and in homes, communities, and organizations across the Nation.

III

To Establish the United States Academy of Peace

PRINCIPAL RECOMMENDATION

In creating the Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution, the Congress and the President directed that it "undertake a study to consider whether to establish" such an institution (P.L. 95-561). The Commission's principal recommendation is that

> *THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA SHOULD ESTABLISH THE UNITED STATES ACADEMY OF PEACE.*

This principal recommendation is based upon the Commission's conclusion that a focused federal investment in peace research, education and training, and information services is an appropriate action for the Federal Government to take and is the most efficient means to meet the following pressing public and government needs: to protect against violent escalation of international conflict; to build upon the Nation's heritage; to benefit American international activities; to promote international peace through a range of effective options, in addition to military capacity; to activate the field of peace learning; to extend American conflict resolution experiences; to reduce the cost of international conflict; and to apply peacemaking knowledge and skills.

The Commission recommends that the United States Academy of Peace have three major functions:

* to perform and assist research about international peace and peacemaking;
* to educate and train--directly and indirectly--persons across the Nation from government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations about international peace and in peacemaking skills; and
* to establish an information service on the field of peace learning.

In addition, the Commission recommends that the Academy establish outreach and extension capacities in these areas.

To protect creative inquiry and dialogue, the Commission urges that the Academy not be used for policymaking or for intervention in disputes. Further, to preserve the Academy's integrity and to ensure its national and international stature, the Academy should be federally chartered as a nonprofit, independent corporation able to receive and disburse private as well as public funds. The Academy should be governed by a 15-member Board of Directors, composed of two Members of the United States Senate appointed by the President Pro Tempore, two Members of the United States House of Representatives appointed by the Speaker, and 11 persons--who are not employees of the federal government--appointed by the President of the United States upon the advice and consent of the United States Senate.

To facilitate federal responsiveness to and by the Academy and to take advantage of the resources of the Nation's capital, the Academy's headquarters and major research, education, and training facilities should be located within easy reach of

Washington, D.C. The Commission also determined that the effectiveness of the Nation's peace efforts requires participation of people throughout the country from many walks of life. To reach across the Nation, therefore, the Academy should establish a clearinghouse for peace information; should use the country's network of libraries, educational institutions, community and professional organizations, and media to inform the public of peace knowledge and processes; should develop programs for funding peace research, education, and training; and should investigate the establishment of subsidiary offices of the Academy.

These major functional and structural recommendations come from two conclusions the Commission reached in evaluating the information it developed in the course of carrying out its legislative mandate: (1) the Academy's three functions are fundamental and share complementary relationships that require their being conducted by a single institution that provides high quality peace research, education and training, and information services; and (2) a comprehensive outreach and extension program can meet the need for the Academy to serve persons, programs, and institutions in and out of government across the Nation.

MAJOR FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

Throughout 1980, the Commission used a program of research, public hearings, formal private discussions, and an open invitation to written communication from the general public to hear from Americans and others in government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations on means to strengthen our Nation's capacity to promote and secure international peace. Although opinions and proposals varied, there was broad consensus that it is timely and necessary for the United States to develop an institution based on peace-related knowledge that serves persons in and out of government in order to advance our national goals of promoting international peace and assuring national security.

Following are the major findings and conclusions that led the Commission to recommend creation of the United States Academy of Peace.

TO PROTECT AGAINST VIOLENT ESCALATION

FINDING: The Commission finds that many Americans fear there is grave danger to national and international peace and security from violent escalation of political, economic, and cultural conflicts.

CONCLUSION: The United States Academy of Peace will advance the national interest by developing peacemaking expertise that can reduce the chance that this Nation or any other nation will, for compelling security reasons, breach peace and risk nuclear war by escalating conflicts into violence.

TO BUILD UPON THE NATION'S HERITAGE

FINDING: The Commission finds that this Nation's constitutional, democratic, free enterprise, and immigrant heritage gives Americans a special capacity to promote the building of peace in the world as well as the Nation.

CONCLUSION: The United States Academy of Peace will build upon the fundamental peace principles and experiences in our Nation's heritage to expand the analytic and problem-solving competence that is necessary to promote and secure international peace.

TO SECURE A RANGE OF OPTIONS

FINDING: The Commission believes that maintenance of international peace and national security requires, in addition to military capacity, use of a range of effective options of a problem-solving nature that can leash international violence, manage conflict, and reduce tensions.

CONCLUSION: The United States Academy of Peace will strengthen American security, promote international peace, and reduce the cost of international conflict through research, education and training, and information services on the range of effective responses to international violence and conflict.

TO BENEFIT AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

FINDING: The Commission finds that, because Americans are so involved in international activity through government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations, we are challenged to exercise a broad range of peacemaking skills in a variety of international settings.

CONCLUSION: Through education and training and information programs, the United States Academy of Peace will sharpen the peacemaking capabilities of Americans in government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations and thereby advance the Nation's world leadership in promoting international peace.

TO ACTIVATE THE FIELD OF PEACE LEARNING*

FINDING: The Commission finds that peace is a legitimate field of learning that encompasses rigorous, interdisciplinary research, education, and training directed toward peacemaking expertise.

CONCLUSIONS: The United States Academy of Peace will amplify the field of peace learning and extend peacemaking expertise by focusing national attention on peace research, education, and training.

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*The term "peace learning" is new and deliberate. Mindful of the admonition that "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more" (Isaiah 2.4) and of such phrases as "higher learning," the Commission chooses "peace learning" for its comprehensiveness. Peace learning extends beyond the scholarship and formal education in peace studies programs to include skill training, early education, and self-education. With the United States' world position and the freedoms Americans enjoy, every citizen should expect personal opportunities to strengthen the Nation's security through the quest for more durable international peace. Thus, peace learning is the responsibility of every citizen. As a federal institution, the proposed United States Academy of Peace is properly limited in scope and function.

TO EXTEND AMERICAN CONFLICT RESOLUTION EXPERIENCES

FINDING: The Commission finds widespread belief that the core principles and techniques of peacemaking and conflict resolution used within the United States have proven utility in dealing with international conflicts.

CONCLUSION: The United States Academy of Peace should use both international and national peacemaking and conflict resolution experiences in designing its education and training and information services programs and should give priority to research on cultural differences in peace and conflict processes.

TO APPLY PEACEMAKING KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS

FINDING: The Commission finds that the absence of a coordinated national commitment to research, education and training, and information services from the field of peace learning has caused neglect of peacemaking knowledge and skills to the detriment of the Nation's effectiveness in policymaking and policy implementation in international affairs, conflicts, and war.

CONCLUSION: The United States Academy of Peace proposed by this Commission will provide the Nation with a balanced and cost-effective institution that will make the field of peace learning accessible and useful to scholars, analysts, policymakers, and decisionmakers in international affairs, conflicts, and war.

TO DESIGN THE UNITED STATES ACADEMY OF PEACE

FINDING: The Commission finds broad public and government interest in a federal institution devoted to this Nation's peacemaking capacities that would have complementary programs of research, education and training, and information services; would serve people in and out of government; and would be sheltered from undue government or private domination.

CONCLUSION: The United States Academy of Peace should develop programs for peace research, education and training, and information services which include centralized and outreach capacities; should be an independent, nonprofit, federally chartered corporation; and should not engage in government or non-government policymaking or in active dispute resolution.

IV

The Need for the United States Academy of Peace

TO PROTECT AGAINST VIOLENT ESCALATION

PEACE AND CONFLICT: WORKING CONCEPTS

The Congress and the President set the background for the Commission's inquiries by directing its attention to the national "goal of promoting peace" and to "conflict between nations ... [and] in the areas of international relations."

The Commission uses "peace" forthrightly in its discussion and recommended Academy title. The Commission rejects emphatically any insinuation that peace--any more than love, church, justice, family, or flag--is soft and naive. The Commission believes timorous attitudes toward peace do not advance the national interest or reflect the American character. Peace is neither utopian nor a sign of weakness or cowardice. Peace is not to be measured simply by absence of tension or quietude of complaint. Peace is not only a desired state; it is a process that is vigorous and includes devotion to those life-affirming values that have made "American" a cherished concept. Peace requires knowledge, judgment, and skill no less complex than what is required for war.

The Commission's Chairman, United States Senator Spark Matsunaga of Hawaii, makes clear the attitude the Commission brings to its work:

> There is no better cause than the cause of world peace. As a rational American, I believe that mankind can create institutional safeguards to prevent nuclear holocaust and I reject the idea that war is inevitable.

The Commission believes that, for the nations of the world as for the United States, the abhorrance of war and the providence of international peace and its correlate, national security, depend upon an international climate that fosters economic and cultural relations and such American concerns as justice and the development of political and economic systems that serve fundamental human needs. These needs include physical and spiritual sustenance, individual expression, and the free ability to choose and then be held accountable for one's choices.

The Commission was charged with looking at problems of international conflict as well as peace. Like "peace," "conflict" has many connotations. The Commission highlights three propositions it uses about conflict.

* First, conflict is a normal part of life and is neither good nor bad; the critical question is how conflict can be met constructively in the advancement of peace.

* Second, much of the conflict we face can be managed and resolved with fairness and without violence, but right and wrong are valid and necessary judgments, and there rightfully remain values that admit no compromise; when conflicts over interests

concern these values, the question is how to advance and hold true to that which is right while keeping respect and dignity for self and others and using minimal or no coercion or violence.

* Third, the conflict and peace focus of this Commission is international, but definitive separation between intranational and international conflicts is not possible for two reasons: (1) internal situations affect a nation's external relations and intranational conflicts spill over borders; and (2) the way a country approaches and handles its internal disputes may bear upon its international behavior. These observations on intra- and international conflicts are true whether the state is Canada, Mexico, Argentina, Spain, Poland, Zimbabwe, Indonesia, Japan, the Soviet Union, or the United States.

To understand conflicts, Harvard law professor Roger Fisher advises, one must be aware that attitudes can obscure the true interests at stake. Defining sovereignty and security as conflicting interests in the Middle East permitted meaningful mediation and negotiation at Camp David. In a letter to the Commission toward the close of its work, noted economist Kenneth Boulding reflected upon the basic procedural concepts behind skilled conflict management:

> "Conflicts over interests" are situations in which some change makes at least one party better off

and the other party worse off, each in their own estimation. If the change is "positive sum," it opens the possibility that both parties may be better off. If the change is "zero sum" or "negative sum," this perception is no longer available.

A "fight" is a situation in which each party to a perceived conflict over interests acts to reduce the welfare of the other. Fights almost always become negative sum and lead to a reduction of the welfare of both parties; the winner may lose less than the loser, but both parties would have been better off if the fight could have been avoided.

A major task of conflict analysis and management is to prevent conflicts from escalating into fights, which make everybody worse off. Institutions of conflict management appear very early in human history: law, diplomacy, arbitration, religious institutions, the family, and athletics. The functioning of these institutions has frequently given way to war, both civil and international, to duels, fist fights, blood feuds, and costly adversary legal battles. Nevertheless, the institutions have always been reestablished after each breakdown or, if they have not, a society has disintegrated and disappeared.

PERCEPTIONS OF THE PUBLIC

Speaking to the Commission in Washington, United States Senator Jennings Randolph of West Virginia urged that "the cause of peace and understanding is the most important subject that can be on the agenda of the United States.... Voices must be lifted up all across the country." The Commission did not poll the American people, but the voices it heard from around the country expressed such deep unease that it must observe that the change of administrations alone which occurred during its life is unlikely to diminish the sense of foreboding it encountered. Many people were troubled over the apparent inability of the United States, the Soviet Union, and other nations to prevent conflicts over interests from escalating into fights.

> *THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MANY AMERICANS FEAR THERE IS GRAVE DANGER TO NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY FROM VIOLENT ESCALATION OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL CONFLICTS.*

Still, the Commission was heartened by much of the New York testimony of Dr. Robert Muller, Secretary of the United Nations' Economic and Social Council, and offers portions as a gauge for other views. It is with some dismay, however, that the Commission reports Dr. Muller was one of the few persons, among thousands who spoke or wrote to the Commission, to express clear optimism about the future.

After recalling his childhood in Alsace-Lorraine and the barbaric slaughter he witnessed as cousin fought cousin in World War II, Dr. Muller said:

> I can tell you very frankly that, after my 32 years in the United Nations, I'm absolutely convinced that we are going to have permanent peace on this planet. I'm even convinced that in 30 or 40 years from now, we are going to have a disarmed planet. It is being built almost every day by the multitude of efforts all around the world. In the United Nations, in 32 specialized agencies, governments have never cooperated to the extent I see them cooperate today.

More familiar to the Commission, however, and implicitly supporting its conclusion that there is today a pressing need for this Nation to establish the United States Academy of Peace, was Dr. Muller's question about the United States:

> The image of the United States around the world is no longer an image of hope. It is no longer the positive [beacon] I found here when I was a young man and joined the United Nations. It is a country filled with pessimism, filled with doubts about the future, and I really wonder why.

One response which reflects a general tone of what the Commission heard was given in Portland by Dr. Richard L. Clinton who, while urging that public attention and serious political review be given to the Commission's work, observed:

> I am continually appalled at how people, and particularly young people, have been able to accustom themselves to living beneath the nuclear sword.... Rather than face the horror that a nuclear war would

> inevitably entail, rather than contemplate the insanity of squandering our planet's dwindling resources on weapons systems that actually reduce instead of enhance our security, rather than grapple with the hard philosophical and political issues that underlie this madness, people turn off....
>
> Does this prove that [in rejecting community and seeking self-gratification] the people are foolish and frivolous and unfit for the challenges of democracy? Does this demonstrate their inherent irrationality? On the contrary. [Faced with government by special interest,] it shows how basically wise and rational they are, but also how easily the fragile basis for effective democracy can be undermined.

Although warnings of danger on the international scene were not unanticipated, after concluding the 12 public seminars, Dr. James H. Laue, Vice Chairman of the Commission, summarized: "It strikes me that the testimony we have received from all levels does affirm that the level of violence and conflict is a serious danger, not only to our nation but indeed to the future of the world." And Commissioner Arthur Barnes commented later:

> We heard a lot of concern, even fear. We also heard real determination to change this state of affairs. There was clear appreciation that, since the dangers affect us both domestically and internationally, the focus and visibility needed to mobilize the American people for peace can come most effectively from federal action.

Because the Commission considered ways for the United States to develop more effective peace-promoting processes in the face of sure and certain international conflicts, it did not undertake policy analyses of such complex issues as population growth, resource depletion, nuclear proliferation, or ideological contest. The Commission has, however, reflected upon recent reports that examine the global future and warn that we face severe stress, as forces we cannot now control--or control alone--alter dramatically the world we inhabit.

NORTH-SOUTH: A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL, which "if reduced to a simple denominator ... deals with peace," states that "the world is now a fragile and interlocking system, whether for its people, its ecology or its resources." THE GLOBAL 2000 REPORT alerts us that, during the last quarter of this century, the population of the world will increase more than 50 percent, with 90 percent occurring "in the poorest countries," and further that, "at present and projected growth rates, the world's population would reach 10 billion [two-and-a-half times the 1975 figure] by 2030 and would approach 30 billion by the end of the twenty-first century."

The President's Commission for a National Agenda for the Eighties observes that:

> [The] policy tradeoffs and interdependence among such issues as economic growth, technological innovation, energy production, environmental quality, military expenditures, and development assistance have expanded in number and, at times, seem nearly all-pervasive.... If America is unable to cope effectively with the continuing threat of foreign energy dependence, if domes-

> tic economic problems are allowed to continue without a serious attempt to slow inflation and raise productivity, and if the challenge of Soviet expansionism is left without a coordinated response from the Free World, then the position of the United States in global affairs may deteriorate steadily. Despite these and other challenges that will surely characterize the 1980s, we should not succumb to despair about the future of America's role in the world.

And in WEALTH AND POVERTY, George Gilder suggests:

> To the mind that doubts the decisive role of genius, courage, and chance in the past, the future usually seems impossible: the Western world appears doomed to decay and coercion as its growing populations press against a closing frontier and science and technology meet the law of diminishing returns. A sociology of despair is emerging, based upon spurious science, incomprehension of the hardships of all human history, and blindness to the perennial sources of human triumph. While physicists begin to concede freedom for microscopic particles, social scientists still begrudge it to human beings. Atomic structure is allowed room for the random and incalculable; but social structure is supposedly under siege by mechanistic forces of entropy and exhaustion, playing out their logic in a "closing circle" of ecological decline.

The Commission takes no stance on the policy recommendations of these studies or others. It does, however, urge that the Congress and the President establish the United States Academy of Peace. In so doing, the Commission adopts the advice of Commissioner John Ashbrook, United States Congressman from Ohio, who reflected on "some of the legislative realities" and noted that the Commissioners

> would be failing your responsibilities, your consciences, your constituencies, if you lower your levels of what you want only on the basis of what you think might be obtainable ... because in a lot of ways in doing that you would do a disservice to the concept of peace and conflict resolution. So I think very strongly that, even if I didn't disagree with your final product, I would probably be disappointed if you, as a commission of individuals, didn't do what you think this country ought to have, rather than what you think will be accepted right now.

The Commission believes the United States Academy of Peace will serve international peace and conflict resolution. It will help this Nation to secure once again the optimism and purpose that spring from clear perspectives on peace and well-honed peacemaking skills which are much too scarce today. Legislative realities must incorporate the understanding that United States leadership is imperative and indispensable as the world works through its present and future international perils. The United States Academy of Peace can be an important component in that leadership.

INTERESTS BEHIND CONFLICTS AND FIGHTS

To explore those interests which define the international conflict arena, early in its life the Commission convened a special seminar with four international affairs experts: Major General George Keegan (USAF ret.), Dr. Betty Goetz Lall, Dr. Donald McNemar, and Dr. Ronald Walters. The participants had different perspectives on why conflicts over interests deteriorate into international fights and on what interests should have priority for the United States. There was, however, broad consensus on the dangerous state of the world today, as fashioned by a propensity toward violence, and on the nature of our epoch, as delimited by the germination of World War II in the 1930s.

The junctures of conflict pointed to can be grouped under four topics:

(1) intense struggle over resource control and use, complicated by the emergence of new nation-states and shifting national group alliances;

(2) clash from different and often opposing political and cultural interests;

(3) danger from proliferation of both mundane and sophisticated weaponry including nuclear arsenals; and

(4) frustration over increasingly incapacitated international and multilateral institutions.

Of particular interest to the Commission and supporting its finding of articulated danger and concern is the fact that, after 12 public seminars, other experts and the general public raised every conflict issue and peacemaking weakness already noted by these specialists, with the possible exception of General Keegan's suggestion of problems in the Nation's intelligence programs. A brief review of these interests behind conflicts and fights will show the complexity but, the Commission believes, not the intractibility of the problems we prepare to meet.

Resource Control and Use: The struggle over resource control and use has intensified over the past two decades as populations have grown, colonial empires have given way to new nation-states (the United Nations had 55 members as of 1946 and 152 in 1979), and economic activities and technological advances have made demands upon increasingly finite customary energy sources and minerals. Developing countries urge technology transfer, greater control over international corporate activity, and renewed commitment by the economically developed nations to Third World economic progress through a "new international economic order." New regional and interest group organizations abound, from the Organization of African Unity to the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries whose cartel policies have affected profoundly the economies of importing nations, whether Third World, socialist, or industrialized democracies. The range of actors is enormous and includes sophisticated institutions as well as people who have in common only severe need for life's necessities. Two statements to the Commission in Honolulu illustrate this range.

Major General Harry W. Brooks, Jr. (USAF ret.) spoke about business activities:

> Business, especially multinational corporations, plays an increasingly important role in global interaction due to the international interdependence that today's world

> economy demonstrates. Indeed, most potential conflicts revolve around competing economic needs, which in turn reinforce competing ideological and philosophical orientations.

Dr. Bruce Currey quoted the Presidential Commission on World Hunger--"The elimination of the worst aspects of hunger would contribute immensely to global peace and security"--and stated:

> The worst aspects of hunger and the greatest food insecurities for nations and communities occur as famines. The last local famine to have caused catastrophic mortality here in Hawaii was associated with the civil wars of the 1780s; the last sizeable famine on a large Pacific island was associated with the aftermath of war on Bougainville. The most recent famine in the developed world was associated with war in the Dutch Hunger Winter of 1944-45. Today, in 1980, in the developing world, famine is associated with the areas of conflict in Indochina, Timor, Afghanistan, and Ethiopia.
>
> Famine is not a policy problem for the developing world alone. It causes not only starvation but also migration because of lack of access to food.... Famine mitigation is an integral part of armed conflict resolution.

Political And Cultural Interests: Dr. Goetz Lall spoke of conflicts over interests having "ethnic, racial, tribal, religious, and ideological configurations." She commented that they often spill over borders or otherwise involve other governments and persons, so what began as a community or national problem becomes international through diplomatic and trade disruptions, refugees, and even infusions of arms and foreign military personnel. No part of the world seems immune, as recent experience in Northern Ireland, Latin America, East and Southern Africa, Southeast Asia, and most dramatically, the Islamic revolution in Iran demonstrates. Dr. Walters observed:

> We hear of the question of religious nationalism. In the Middle East there are burning questions of religious differences, and yet, I don't see this as a major problem. I think that religion by itself perhaps may not be a problem, but when you combine religion with the question of political change, then I think it becomes a question we have to deal with.

Echoing Dr. McNemar and others who addressed the Commission, in Boston Dr. Joseph Short, Executive Director of Oxfam America, underscored a fundamental interest that merges political and cultural considerations: "Oxfam America's daily work in such countries as Nicaragua, Zimbabwe, and Cambodia impresses us that there is a symbiotic relationship between peace and justice, and that injustice is the most common source of conflict, whether it be in Johannesburg or Miami." Neglect of such interests, General Keegan implied, has severe consequences:

> I think the number one problem in dealing with Soviet-engendered conflict and, to a lesser extent, the Third World is a massive ignorance of the ethnic/cultural problems and a simply abysmal ignorance of the true economic conditions within the Third World.
>
> We don't know their objectives

> and we don't understand those who would threaten peace. We don't understand their intentions, their characteristics, their ideosyncracies--in other words, all the things that we need to know to fight effectively.
>
> And to me, fighting effectively is not having to fight. If I have learned anything, it is that conflict at the point of violence on a large scale is just simply the most wasteful and abhorrent activity on the face of this earth.
>
> If you're forearmed with knowledge and information about your opposition, which we traditionally are not in the executive institutions, then the range of possibilities that would permit you to deter, to influence, to moderate, and to move and shift the thrust of the pending conflicts [increases].

Weapon Proliferation: The most strenuous concern expressed to the Commission was proliferation of both mundane and sophisticated weaponry, especially nuclear arsenals. Addressing a Portland reception for the Commission, United States Senator Mark O. Hatfield of Oregon spoke of the fallacy of security based on weaponry alone:

> I believe that the most prevalent mistake that we hear reported and acted upon too frequently through legislative and other political implementation is to suppose that national security corresponds to military might. We tend to think that people are secure if a nation has sophisticated war-making tools and only if we have the superiority of such

> war-making tools. In other words, we are secure if we have the capability to destroy life, not only once, but several time over.

In Columbus, Dr. Alan Millett testified that modern patterns of conflicts and military spending have three historical explanations:

> (1) two superpowers with alliance systems replacing Europe as the world political center;
>
> (2) decolonialization and struggles for internal power; and
>
> (3) "the proliferation of warmaking ability ... [now to] 128 nations with military forces significant enough for interstate war on their neighbors of relatively equal or less equal capability."

In Atlanta, Andrew Young, former United States Congressman from Georgia and United States Ambassador to the United Nations, told the Commission that

> peace is not something we come by accidentally. [Similarly,] national security evolves from our ability to develop relationships, understanding, communication, and mutual respect with those around us.... We are now spending $150 billion a year on our security, and I dare say that we feel more insecure today than even two years ago when we were spending $100 billion.

He noted that World War II was "in many ways a justified conflict," but the Korean War, which expended 50,000 American lives, probably was not.

> The money spent and the young men who lost their lives essentially were a result of people not understanding the peacemaking process. If one reads through the annals of literature about Dag Hammarskjold, who then was United Nations Secretary-General, you see there were many opportunities between the United States and China to bring about an understanding that might have averted not only the Chinese entry into that war, but also the possibility of a clash between North and South Korea in the first place. In fact, it's not too reckless to assume that the very unrecognition of China made that war not only possible, but perhaps inevitable. We now, some 20 years later after everybody is dead, after all the money is spent, are finally coming around to realizing that our national security interests include normalization of relations with China.

The extensiveness of modern war, Dr. Millett described, is enormous:

> Since 1945, depending on how one defines war, there have been at least 30 major interstate wars, perhaps as many as 119, and 200 conflicts. Wars have involved 80 nations who have spent 350 accumulated years at war in the last 30 years.

> It is suggested, to the degree we have reliable statistics, that these conflicts have caused at least seven million, probably more than 10 million, dead.
>
> We know that global military spending in the same period has been larger than three trillion dollars, a third of which was spent by the United States.
>
> The pattern of military spending increased since 1945 from probably about 60 billion in that year to, in the mid 1970s, something in the neighborhood of 350 billion dollars, [and my dollar figures are not adjusted for inflation].

The capability to continue this escalating pattern is clear. General Keegan advised the Commission that war is not caused by arms races, however deplorable, but by "failure of a threatened nation to arm itself adequately to maintain the peace, thus inviting the agression it would prevent," and he projected a most chilling scenario:

> It is my belief that within the next two decades we're going to see the very full range of nation-state conflicts from global nuclear down to limited cross-border wars, including a full range of internal upheavals from the traditional revolutionary type to power seizures by competing groups. Basically, I foresee more of what we have had since World War II, however with an intensification in scope, frequency, and increasing impact upon the perceived vital interests of the United States, its allies, and friends throughout the world.

Nuclear war was the strongest concern before the Commission. In Hawaii, Roshi Robert Aiken recalled his "experiences as a civilian internee during World War II, when I was taken from Guam to Kobe, Japan, and ultimately experienced the horror of being bombed by napalm" and reminded the Commission of Albert Einstein's statement: "The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything save our modes of thinking, and thus we drift toward unparalleled catastrophe."

In addition to the increasing frequency of terrorist acts and the possibility of nuclear terrorism that were part of the backdrop to the Commission's activities throughout 1980, Dr. Walters warned of the increasing likelihood of "nuclear conflicts among second-level states, below the United States and the Soviet Union, who can, if they choose, compose themselves into a nuclear trading cartel." As the Commission approached the close of its work, President Jimmy Carter spoke in his farewell address of "three difficult issues: the threat of nuclear destruction, our stewardship of the physical resources of our planet, and the pre-eminence of the basic rights of human beings." His description of nuclear catastrophe makes it clear that nuclear war could erase the other two interests:

> In an all-out nuclear war, more destructive power than in all of World War II would be unleashed every second during the long afternoon it would take for all the missiles and bombs to fall. A World War II every second--more people killed in the first few hours than all the wars of history put together. The survivors, if any, would live in despair amid the poisoned ruins of a civilization that had committed suicide.

Institutional Frustration: Most interest areas which generate conflict are covered by institutions meant at least to impede the development of fights. Few of these institutions, however, are as capable as necessary to bring about peace. Refugees, for example, have a special place in the world community through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, yet his ability to act is limited by invitation and by funding so low that major refugee crises, like certain U.N. peacekeeping operations, require special requests for voluntary contributions. Similarly, the International Court of Justice is limited by jurisdictional restrictions, whether of the type encountered when the United States appeared before it over the seizure of its embassy and personnel in Teheran or through such reservations to the Court's compulsory jurisdiction as the United States' "Connally Amendment."

Despite the United Nations' many and often unsung successes ranging from treaties securing international norms to economic, health, and education programs and agriculture and weather information development and dissemination, it suffers, in Dr. Goetz Lall's description, from "no consensus on how to operate, a great deal of confrontation, and an inefficient bureaucratic structure." The frustration as well as the great opportunities offered through the United Nations was made clear in private meetings the Commission held with staff and members of the United States Delegation to the United Nations. The challenges of international diplomacy are immense and sometimes surpass the peak of any participant's inherent skills when unduly complicated by procedural and personnel quagmires.

Beyond the fragmentation from international institutions outside the United Nations and its associated agencies is a problem raised by Dr. Philip Jacob in Hawaii:

> Terrorists cutting the [intergovernmental communication] life-

> lines to peace, substituting guns as an instrument of political negotiation: ... [such acts require] means to reinsure the security of the diplomatic functions, present the international community with an imperative need to devise alternative channels of communication, and greatly heighten the significance of international agencies as centers of negotiations among governments.

Among these agencies are the many general and specialized regional or interest-based international institutions such as the Organization of American States, the Organization of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Nations Conference, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the European Economic Commission, and the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, as well as such quasi-international institutions--privately or publicly instituted with international boards of directors--as the East-West Center in Hawaii, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, the Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs headquartered in London, and Amnesty International, also based in London.

The importance of building strong international institutions cannot be understated. The consequences when conflicts over interests escalate into fights are too potent to do nothing or simply to rely upon unilateral or even bilateral actions. Two institutions, one well-known and the other somewhat obscure, indicate the peacemaking resources that lie within the international community.

The International Labor Organization so far has survived rough tumult over injection of Middle East disputes by partisans. Dr. Goetz Lall pointed to its broad effectiveness in the human rights area because "it has nongovernmental groups on the governing board and it is the one agency in which you can do things without waiting for governments to be prepared to act." Its three international federations, although ideologically opposed, and its international trade secretariats are active in "organizing and providing technical assistance."

United States Ambassador Richard Petree spoke to the Commission in New York about his responsibilities in working on both the procedural and the substantive functions of the United Nations Security Council. Because consensus is required even for an issue to be heard, he has emphasized

> ... gradually [bringing] people to recognize that the process of informal consultation, out of the eye of the camera, away from public formal meeting of record, offers possibilities for discussion, for putting parties to a conflict together in a way and under auspices which are supportive, are exploratory, are less threatening in a sense to those who are protecting stiff partisan positions in a conflict.

An example of this type of effective dispute resolution in the United Nations is the Secretary-General's instrument of "good offices." The "good offices" concept has developed under Articles 98 and 99 of the United Nations Charter, which give the Secretary-General broad trusteeship powers over the Charter's international dispute resolution principles and purposes. The Secretary-General informs the Security Council of requests for his assistance and of his intentions and obtains its authorization to act. He proceeds discreetly and with strict neutrality. Most often, he acts as a conciliator through agreed-upon fact-finding missions and arranging and conducting meetings between the parties. Examples of "good offices" include Dag Hammarskjold's intense personal involvement in the Congo and U

Thant's sending identical and persistent messages to the Soviet Union and the United States warning against nuclear war during the Cuban missile crisis.

From this and similar evidence, the Commission concludes that:

> *THE UNITED STATES ACADEMY OF PEACE WILL ADVANCE THE NATIONAL INTEREST BY DEVELOPING PEACEMAKING EXPERTISE THAT CAN REDUCE THE CHANCE THAT THIS NATION OR ANY OTHER NATION WILL, FOR COMPELLING SECURITY REASONS, BREACH PEACE AND RISK NUCLEAR WAR BY ESCALATING CONFLICTS INTO VIOLENCE.*

There is good reason for the deep concern and frustration the Commission heard during its work. There are many complicated conflicts over interests, and fights appear to be more frequent, more probable, and more threatening. If only because of its prominent position as a major nuclear power and its extensive international involvement, the United States faces many challenges to its national security and the security of its citizens abroad.

Violent escalation of conflicts clearly is not in the United States' interest; resort to violence is a sign the conflict is lost. Commissioner Elise Boulding, reflecting in Hawaii on the Commission's visits to West Point, Annapolis, and the Air Force Academy, recalled for the Commissioners a point that had emerged in discussions with the academies' faculties: military action can be regarded as a failure on the part of the United States--a failure in capability in other sectors of government--the academies would like to see more nonmilitary skills developed so there would be less inclination to draw the military in too soon and inappropriately. The Commission believes that an investment in peace through the United States Academy of Peace, while small compared to that required for our mighty space explorations, will advance the national interest no less. It can help provide the knowledge and skills necessary for a peaceful world so we can continue those glorious adventures into new frontiers as well as the more common pursuits we enjoy around the globe.

TO BUILD UPON THE NATION'S HERITAGE

BRIEF HISTORY LEADING TO THE COMMISSION'S CREATION

The history that led to creation of the Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution begins in the earliest days of the Republic. Born out of revolution, the new nation faced armed conflict with Native Americans, saw war clouds over the horizon in Europe, and experienced difficulty composing itself as a federation under the Articles of Confederation. The first citizens of this country looked to ways of peace with other nations and among themselves and the inhabitants of their territory.

In a June 8, 1783 circular to the States, George Washington stated that "there can be little doubt but Congress will recommend a proper Peace Establishment for the United States." With the United States newly constituted in 1789 under its Constitution and the Bill of Rights added in 1791, Benjamin Banneker published in the fall of 1792 the first edition of BANNEKER'S ALMANACK AND EPHEMERIS FOR THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1793. An essay with authorship presumedly shared by Mr. Banneker and Dr. Benjamin Rush, physician and signer of the Declaration of Independence, began:

> Among the defects which have been

> pointed out in the Federal Constitution by its antifederal enemies, it is much to be lamented that no person has taken notice of its total silence upon the subject of an office of the utmost importance to the welfare of the United States, that is, an office for promoting and preserving perpetual peace in our country.
>
> It is hoped that no objection will be made to the establishment of such an office, while we are engaged in a war with the Indians, for as the War-Office of the United States was established in the time of peace, it is equally reasonable that a Peace-Office should be established in the time of war.

In his booklet "Why a Department of Peace," Dr. Frederick L. Schuman reports that "the proposal was later echoed during the course of the 19th Century by various publicists and legislators [but] their efforts were without result."

The 20th century has seen substantial legislative activity, too, with the modern era beginning in 1935 when United States Senator Matthew Neeley of West Virginia introduced a Department of Peace bill similar to the Rush-Banneker Peace Office. That year, United States Congressman Fred Bierman of Iowa proposed a "Bureau of Peace and Friendship" for the Department of Labor to do sociological research on peace and war. World War II prompted further Cabinet-level legislative proposals. In 1945, United States Senator Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin proposed creation of a small high level Department of Peace with the Secretary's responsibilities to include the position of United States Representative on the United Nations Security Council. The same year, United States Congressman, now Senator Jennings Randolph of West Virginia introduced a Department of Peace bill which incorporated for the first time the idea that the international exchange of people and ideas is an effective way to promote peace. In 1945 and 1947, United States Congressman Everett Dirksen of Illinois, who later became a United States Senator, introduced bills for "A Peace Division in the State Department," and in 1947 United States Senator Karl Mundt of South Dakota urged a Department of Peace. Between the 74th and 94th Congresses--1935 to 1976--more than 140 bills to establish a Department of Peace, a National Peace Agency, or standing committees of Congress were introduced in the Senate or the House of Representatives. Commission Chairman Matsunaga himself introduced seven of them in the House and two in the Senate. United States Senator Hubert Humphrey, among others, was an important contributor of a significant development in the 1960s: establishment of the National Peace Agency and the Arms Control Research Institute, which were later merged to become the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Although sponsorship of legislation to establish a federal institution devoted exclusively to peace learning has been extensive and not limited by political party or perspective, it was not until 1976 that legislative action began which eventually led to this report. United States Senator Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island chaired hearings held by the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Subcommittee on Education on S. 1976, a peace academy bill principally sponsored by United States Senators Vance Hartke of Indiana and Mark Hatfield of Oregon. The bill proposed

> to establish an educational institution in the United States fulfilling the goal of the nation's first President, George Washington, to further the understanding of the process and state of peace among nations and cooperation between people; to consider the dimensions

> of peaceful resolutions of differences; to inform government leaders of peaceful methods of conflict resolution; and for other purposes.

The committee took no further action on S. 1976.

Legislation with multiple sponsorship to establish a study commission was introduced in 1977 with principal sponsorship in the House of Representatives by United States Congressman Andrew Young of Georgia and United States Congresswoman Helen Meyner of New Jersey and in the Senate by Senators Spark Matsunaga, Mark Hatfield, and Jennings Randolph. Hearings on these and similar bills were held before the Senate Human Resources Committee, chaired by United States Senator Harrison Williams of New Jersey; the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, chaired by United States Senator John Sparkman of Alabama; and the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Operations, chaired by United States Congressman Dante Fascell of Florida. Although the House failed to pass a commission bill in 1978, the Senate amended the House-passed Elementary and Secondary Education Bill with the provision to establish this Commission. The amendment was accepted in conference, President Jimmy Carter signed the legislation in November 1978, and appropriations were made available in 1979. Appointment of Commissioners was completed in December 1979: United States Congressmen Dan Glickman and John Ashbrook, and William Lincoln by House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.; United States Senator Spark Matsunaga, former United States Congressman John Dellenback, and John Dunfey by Senator Warren Magnuson, Senate President Pro Tempore; and Arthur Barnes, Elise Boulding, and James Laue by President Carter. The Commission then began its work.

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AMERICA'S HERITAGE OF VIOLENCE AND PEACE

As the Commission moved across the country, it heard substantial testimony about America's heritage of violence as well as its peacemaking reality and promise. Witnesses urged that the Commission's peace and conflict inquiry include our national and community experiences. That perspective became important as the Commission itself concluded that the United States Academy of Peace can and should be firmly established with an international focus from roots sunk deep in the American soil. From that premise, the Commission developed a design for the Academy that it believes is uniquely appropriate to the United States and secured within the problem-solving nature of Americans and the American tradition.

A brief recital, then, of America's experience with violence and injustice will set the context for what the Commission is confident is a fundamental but undervalued aspect of the United States --its peace heritage. Like a fine photograph, the background of war, self-injury, and healing makes stark both the peacemaking need and the experience and potential of the United States as it works toward its goal of peace among nations.

Violence in America's Political, Civil, and Economic Life: Less than some nations but more than Americans wish, the United States has known war. No American state in modern history has been attacked, but American armed participation in World War II began when the then Territory of Hawaii and other American territories in the Pacific experienced that war firsthand. United States troops have fought in both world wars, in Korea, in Indochina, and in a number of smaller, more contained conflicts. Millions of Americans have suffered death or maiming in battle. The Commission honors these men and women, while it notes that still too many lives have been forfeited or injured for want of peacemaking skills.

The Commission observes that, like its own genesis, the American birthright springs from the ashes of revolution. The Report of the Task Force on Historical and Comparative Perspectives to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, entitled VIOLENCE IN AMERICA, said we have excised from our collective memory that "... the meanest and most squalid sort of violence was from the very beginning to the very end put to the service of the Revolutionary ideas and objectives. The operational philosophy that the end justifies the means became the keynote of Revolutionary violence." The American fight for independence from British tyranny was mirrored internally as Patriot fought Tory and still later as slavery--an evil unerased by independence and ironically secured by the Constitution--brought South and North into bitter conflict. That this inheritance spans United States history was underscored for the Commission in New York by Judge William H. Booth, who recalled that:

> Thaddeus Kosciuszko, on leaving the United States of America, made his will on May 5, 1798, willing his property to the freedom of the slaves, and he made Thomas Jefferson, the next President, his Executor. Thus, our future President was called to the task of resolving the slave conflict in this country. We can do no less today.

Although all who fought and survived the Civil War have passed on, it echoes still and is distilled no better than in the awe, rebuke, and love of President Abraham Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address, engraved on the wall of his Memorial in the Nation's capitol. His words are so resonant and timely for a people considering establishing the United States Academy of Peace to release America's peacemaking strengths, that the Commission uses the opportunity of this report to share again his wisdom:

> Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes his aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered--that of neither has been answered fully.
>
> The Almighty has his own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses! for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope--fervently do we pray--that this mighty scourge of

> war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."
>
> With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan--to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.

In addition to war, time and again the Commission was addressed on America's ongoing violence against itself. In New York, Hazel N. Dukes of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People supported fully an academy concept, but suggested:

> The idea of a peace academy is in conflict with the American heritage of violence and war. To overcome the natural resistence of Americans to the notion that conflicts can be settled with dignity and justice through peaceful means instead of by force and violence will require far greater national support than has been presently committed.

In Atlanta, the Commission's public seminar was held at the Martin Luther King, Jr. Community Center amid reminders of assassinations and attempts on the lives of political and cultural leaders. Witnesses at all 12 of the Commission's public seminars spoke of the past and present suffering, waste, and tragedies of America's poor and minorities, including Native Americans; European, Asian, Hispanic, Haitian, and new African immigrants; and Blacks encumbered by society's legacy of slavery.

In virtually every case, these observations served as a context for thoughts on a theme repeated throughout the Commission's work. John Boone in Atlanta reported that his group discussion "made it very, very clear that we want the Commission to understand that peace is impossible without justice." And in Boston, the Rev. Edward Rodman was asked, "What is justice?" He responded, "As a theologian, [I say] justice is love distributed." The Commission emphasizes relationships among justice, racism, oppression, intolerance, war, and poverty because they were predominant concerns of many witnesses, and successes and failures in addressing them are pivotal American experiences that inform the understanding of peace and conflict. They comprise, therefore, a necessary backdrop to the United States Academy of Peace.

Peace as a Quality of America's Political, Civil, and Economic Life: The Commission is deeply impressed by the richness of America's peace heritage and believes that readers can add much from their own knowledge to the profile this report draws. As with its examination of violence, the Commission approaches America's peace heritage here and in other parts of this report with some caution, for it wishes to avoid offering an oversimplified history of a magnificent, complex, and sometimes clashing tapestry. The fullness of this heritage requires the insight and release of energy that the Commission believes can be generated by a permanent American national institution: the

United States Academy of Peace. From such renewed light, Americans then may reflect as in the closing stanza of Robert Frost's "The Road Not Taken":

> I shall be telling this with a sigh
> Somewhere ages and ages hence:
> Two roads diverged in a wood, and I--
> I took the one less traveled by,
> And that has made all the difference.

Choosing new roads and devising new ways to meet new needs is an important part of America's peace heritage. This care and capacity is expressed on the interior wall of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial in the District of Columbia, where we read his words:

> I am not an advocate for frequent changes in laws and constitutions, but laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. As that becomes more developed, more enlightened, as new discoveries are made, new truths discovered and manners and opinions change, with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also to keep pace with the times. We might as well require a man to wear still the coat which fitted him when a boy as civilized society to remain ever under the regimen of their barbarous ancestors.

Keeping pace with the times is a solid American tradition and as much a story of process as of events. Holly Henderson summarized for the Commission in Honolulu important aspects of this history in observing that the idea for a national peace academy

> ... does indeed lie within the ideology which animates the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights. Though these documents grew out of revolution, they are uniquely scrupulous in their attention to the protection of individual and collective rights; a system of checks and balances on power; and the creation of a governmental structure in which negotiation and bargaining are essential.... The development of successive waves of immigrants into one nation, the electoral process, our judicial system, and complementary systems of law which interrelate municipalities, states, and the national interest are examples of areas in which conflict resolution and negotiation are bred into life in the United States....
>
> We ourselves live so close to all these processes that often we are unconscious of their significance; we do not pause to analyze what connections are present as important linkages between national philosophies and concrete quality of life.

Developing and disseminating such analyses should be among the tasks of the United States Academy of Peace. The Republic has survived war and other desecrations in large measure because Americans are preeminently problem-solvers. How this is true can be much better understood by objective, clear-eyed inquiry into the strengths and weaknesses of American institutions, processes, and experiences in peacemaking that have been tested and honed over time or remain innovative and promising. An important step is to become fully conscious of the significance of our peace heritage--whether communal, national, or international--to the "peaceful resolution of conflict between nations" and the peoples of the world. In sum,

> ***THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THIS NATION'S CONSTITUTIONAL, DEMOCRATIC, FREE ENTERPRISE, AND IMMIGRANT HERITAGE GIVES AMERICANS A SPECIAL CAPACITY TO PROMOTE THE BUILDING OF PEACE IN THE WORLD AS WELL AS THE NATION.***

As the oldest living experiment in democracy and one of the most powerful nations on earth, the United States seems to permit internal conflict unknown to authoritarian or totalitarian systems of government. While dissonance may be the tone of any particular moment, the overall modality is harmonic. To the extent this is so, it is because the participants in America meet the conflict they generate creatively and cooperatively. For example, the United States more than any other nation has structured its society so strangers from other lands can come here and become American. Judge Cruz Reynoso, a member of the recent Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy, explains why this is true. Heterogeneity and continuous adaptation arise from principles held in common which, he writes, are found within

> ... the character of our national union, the reality of our history, and the diversity of our people. Americans are not now, and never have been one people linguistically or ethnically. American Indians (natives) are not now, and never have been like Europeans. By the treaty which closed the Mexican American war, our Country recognized its obligation to protect the property, liberty and religion of

> the new Americans. In short, America is a political union--not a cultural, linguistic, religious or racial union. It is acceptance of our constitutional ideals of democracy, equality, and freedom which acts as the unifier of us as Americans.

The Matsunaga Commission itself is a good illustration of processes that invigorate American peace activity. In its composition alone, for example, the Commission represents an important fact about the United States: Commissioners came from government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations, and a number of them have worked in all three sectors of our society. Such freedom of mobility will be important to the United States Academy of Peace. Involvement of persons in private as well as public life will ensure it meets its obligations to the peace capacities of government in addition to those of other sectors of the Nation.

Another aspect of American political life the Commission wishes to note pertains to our national stability and peace. The Commission was created during the Presidency of Jimmy Carter and it presents its report to President Ronald Reagan. The peaceful transfer of political power from one party to another is part of a tradition supporting the freedom of inquiry the Commission anticipates from the United States Academy of Peace.

In its establishment, in its activities, and through those who joined in its work, the Commission exemplifies the exercise of certain values it believes have provided Americans with a solid foundation for broadbased peacemaking. These values include freedom of religion, speech, press. assembly, travel, association, petition, and privacy. The absence of these freedoms in many nations troubles Americans and may complicate both our and their abilities to communicate and establish frameworks to resolve differences and disputes without violence. That some other nations may be less experienced at creating, in Jefferson's words, "laws and institutions [to] go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind," is not reason to draw back, for we do know that other nations which lack the proficiency, power, breadth and scope of the United States still are capable of meeting conflicts nonviolently and, at times, in ways that promote justice. These manners, limitations, and successes we must understand no less than our own.

Although the United States holds people from all over the world, our traditions are fundamentally Western. Some may bridle at American reliance upon procedures and precedent to ensure fairness and stability. To those driven by religious fervor, American tolerance and encouragement of diversity may seem repugnant. Yet it is they as well as we who determine whether the world shall enjoy peace or suffer devastating conflict. Our freedoms permit us to bridge cultures; an important meaning of our differences is that United States power and American capacities carry special obligations and opportunities. In Hawaii, Commissioner John Dunfey reflected upon others' expectations:

> I sense from my dealings with people in Europe and elsewhere, that they are waiting for the United States to provide leadership in peace. They just say it flat out to me: "If you don't do it, who's going to?" I don't think there is any self-serving in those comments. They are really hoping the United States will be in the forefront in this field of peacemaking.

The freedoms noted above which the Commission finds particularly potent in the peace learning and peacemaking foundation for Americans--religion, speech, press, assembly, travel, association, petition, and privacy--were fully part of the Commission's life. The Commission was promoted through petition to government and received active support from Members of Congress and the Executive Branch. Its activities were always public and open and, as it heard many viewpoints offered without hesitation or embarrassment, it learned of capacities developed by American society through the exercise of these fundamental freedoms.

In the peace context, these freedoms emerge as three strengths that are basic to our government, institutions of private enterprise, and voluntary associations: the right to create, the right to compete, and what Dr. Paul Wehr terms "the right to conflict." As "rights," these activities enjoy protection and legitimacy as fundamental American principles. And whenever the Commission was reminded of violence in America's life, it became apparent that underlying factors were denial of those freedoms and the rights that stem from them. It is clear that, although often strained, it is preservation and use of those freedoms and rights that comprise the American basis for fully developed peace learning and peacemaking.

Economic enterprise, for example, flourishes from entrepreneurial drive and technological innovation, both facets of creativity and competition. Just as competition and creativity are protected through such complicated areas as patent and antitrust law, commodity controls, and trade agreements, the right to conflict is recognized in the Taft-Hartley Act, which has curbed labor-management bloodshed and employs third party intervention through the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. In civil no less than economic and political life, these values and rights are basic. Reflecting America's voluntary association heritage, nonprofit organizations receive tax exemption for activities of public benefit Channeling conflict within a right to conflict clearly is found in our courts and in such governmental peacemaking responses as the Community Relations Service of the Department of Justice and the Equal

Employment Opportunity Commission.

Peacemaking experience at local levels, too, is substantial. Dr. Guadalupe Quintanilla told the Commission in Dallas about improved community relations from organizational development and police training in response to "conflict for the past three years in Houston between law enforcement officers and members of minority communities." The United States has applied its principles internationally, too. Using such freedoms as speech and association to secure the rights to create, compete, and conflict are fundamental reasons behind the creation of the United Nations, which was founded in San Francisco with substantial American participation and is headquartered in New York City. These values and rights are a basis for extensive international cultural and educational programs, whether from voluntary associations or government as seen in the Peace Corps.

At issue is not whether these rules and institutions are necessary or even the best way to resolve conflict and promote peace; the point, rather, is that they have been developed by Americans exercising self-governance, balancing fundamental values, and meeting disputes and stress so as to reduce violence. While the direct international transferability of many domestic mechanisms is subject to question, experience shows potential that needs careful mining; the mediation model that led to the Camp David accords, for example, was developed from labor-management bargaining in the United States. Even more important, such methods for resolving difficult questions comprise the common heritage and experience of Americans. Taken to conceptual levels, these social inventions represent who and what we are and, the Commission believes, provide an important foundation on which to build the United States Academy of Peace. It is because of those experiences, based in a heritage that comes from all parts of the globe and reflecting the capacties of free men and women, that the Commission has concluded:

THE UNITED STATES ACADEMY OF PEACE WILL BUILD UPON THE FUNDAMENTAL PEACE PRINCIPLES AND EXPERIENCES IN OUR NATION'S HERITAGE TO EXPAND THE ANALYTIC AND PROBLEM-SOLVING COMPETENCE THAT IS NECESSARY TO PROMOTE AND SECURE INTERNATIONAL PEACE.

TO SECURE A RANGE OF OPTIONS

A CONTINUUM FOR STRENGTH

The American heritage teaches that one of our most important resources is a vast array of views and problem-solving strategies and skills. Innovative thinking about issues and frequent use of such techniques as negotiation and conciliation have always been characteristic of American democratic traditions and are becoming more and more crucial in international activities. It is the American ability to select from and exercise this range of options that has enabled, in the words of the Constitution,

> We the people of the United States ... to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common Defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity.

In fundamental terms, the United States' international policies reflect these purposes, too, and are equally dependent upon the continuous presence of a range of options.

With conflict prevalent and debate pronounced over such questions as environmental protection and resource development, urban safety and renovation, and appropriate schooling for youth--which were among the issues addressed before the Commission--no one would assert that the United States has devised and honed perfect solutions to its national and community problems. Nor with the delays in achieving enforceable arms limitation agreements or with the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan and direct and indirect activity in Africa, could it be said the United States' international peacemaking policies and actions are invariably successful. At the same time, no one could rightly question the capacity of this Nation throughout history to respond to challenges forcefully or through participatory, nonviolent methods.

The Commission wants it clearly understood that its findings and recommendations do not contemplate a weakening of American military and diplomatic power. On the contrary, the United States Academy of Peace will, the Commission is confident, be viewed as an asset to American military and diplomatic institutions and policies, even beyond their personnel participating in Academy programs.

In today's world, it is necessary for the United States to have a well-defined, strong, and flexible military defense capacity. While a profile of this capability is outside the Commission's mandate and comptence, the Commission believes that military capacities ought not to be considered independently from the nonmilitary in considerations of international peace and national security. Military peacemaking options, which themselves form a continuum of intervention strengths, encompass only a part of the Nation's total range of options to prevent and respond to harmful international conflict. When the armed component is emphasized and other parts are relatively neglected, questions about the value of the traditional broad range of options tend to arise. If the range of international problem-solving skills is allowed to atrophy, undue pressures and expectations are placed upon military institutions. This damages rather than upgrades defense capabilities.

The Commission believes that strategies, tactics, and techniques to meet conflicts of low or intermediate intensity are available for more frequent use. They can reduce tensions before fear, anxiety, and violence interrupt communication, threaten national pride, harden leadership positions, and mobilize military forces, and they are critical to the termination of violent conflict. These capacities support and can be part of the careful exercise of military and diplomatic power. In Boston, Professor Herbert Kelman testified:

> To establish and maintain peace under the conditions of the contemporary global system requires a variety of new approaches, both within and outside of the framework of traditional diplomacy. Moreover, it requires active attention, not only to the day-to-day issues of national and international politics, but also to the larger social and psychological processes within national and global societies on which the creation of a peaceful and just world order depends in the long run.

Kelman's "variety of new approaches" encompasses the concept of a continuum--a range of options--and is basic to the American experience of conflict resolution.

It is also basic that vacuums be filled. If negotiations are ineffective, or worse if negotiators are short of skill so their efforts are futile, then it is only logical that more unilateral actions will be taken, which ordinarily involve force, or that no response will be available. In Boston, Professor Richard Pipes addressed the academy concept with some skepticism while noting Ameican negotiation deficiencies:

> We only have to look on how the British solved the problem in Rhodesia-Zimbabwe. It was a brilliant example of diplomatic skills at the highest level. Here was a situation that to all appearances looked hopeless, and I must say that I expected general carnage to ensue. Yet because of the superb skill of these people, they managed to defuse it and to achieve an all-around peaceful resolution. Now, this is the skill of negotiators. I doubt if we could have done it, not because we lack the good will, but because we lack the skill.

If the United States lacked the mediation and conciliation skills exhibited by the British in Rhodesia-Zimbabwe but were asked to assume such a responsibility, any failures ultimately would lie with policymakers who had caused an imbalance within the range of peacemaking options. When demands upon one part of the continuum--whether the armed services or the diplomatic corps--exceed realistic capacities, the bias lies not with military or diplomatic planners and decisionmakers, but with those who ill-served them by permitting an unhealthy tilt within the range of options. The Commission believes such tendencies contradict the American peace heritage; there is nothing in the British experience that makes them indelibly more proficient than Americans in bringing about peaceful resolutions to difficult international conflicts. In short,

> *THE COMMISSION BELIEVES THAT MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND*

NATIONAL SECURITY REQUIRES, IN ADDITION TO MILITARY CAPACITY, USE OF A RANGE OF EFFECTIVE OPTIONS OF A PROBLEM-SOLVING NATURE THAT CAN LEASH INTERNATIONAL VIOLENCE, MANAGE CONFLICT, AND REDUCE TENSIONS.

A RANGE AS VITAL TO AMERICAN PEACE PROCESSES

The resilience of this Nation is founded more firmly in peace principles than ordinarily recognized. It is organic to American society that problems can be solved and life improved when there is a wide range of options that permit individual and group creativity. This attitude is deeply embedded in the American national experience. Unlike the European system of education, we are not required in youth to make lifelong career decisions through specialized vocational tracking; Americans from all walks of life enter higher education or training programs and undertake new career directions based upon ability, opportunity, and drive without regard to age. American economic principles, reflected today in calls for reduced taxation and regulation and for greater individual and social responsibility, hold concern for the family farm and the mom-and-pop store as well as for the activities of giant corporations. This tradition offers fluidity and change within processes of stability which Americans share in common.

It is not that the rules of any given time represent agreement by all; rather, rules emerge and change from the many varieties of bartering. The American vision, then, is rarely utopian or even truly ideological; rather, it is a basic belief in the future produced through participation and self-governance. That experience represents a peace principle: conflicts should be resolved with minimal coercion while maintaining public peace and promoting equity and justice. When coercion remains minimal, mutual problem-solving becomes a norm. This principle, notably, is neither passive nor a full repudiation of force. It simply sets forth a preferred course which experience shows to be the better way: development and effective use of a full range of options.

A review of constitutional doctrine is quite beyond the scope of this report, but a glimpse can illustrate the operation of that peace principle. It provides evidence of the fundamental nature of that principle to our heritage. Courts review most constitutional challenges to government action using a "rational basis" test. If there is an explicit or even a reconstructed rationale to justify the action as within governmental power, the action is upheld as an expression of representative democracy. When, however, a governmental action limits a "fundamental right," such as religious practice, speech, or freedom from racial discrimination, a different standard applies. Once the government shows under a "strict scrutiny" test that its policy meets an appropriate governmental end, a means test is used. Has the government elected the "least restrictive" or "minimally intrusive" alternative to implement its policy? If the policy purpose is appropriate, but the way it is carried out is overly restrictive or intrusive in light or other less restrictive or intrusive alternatives, the government will be required to use those other means if it still wishes to effectuate its policy.

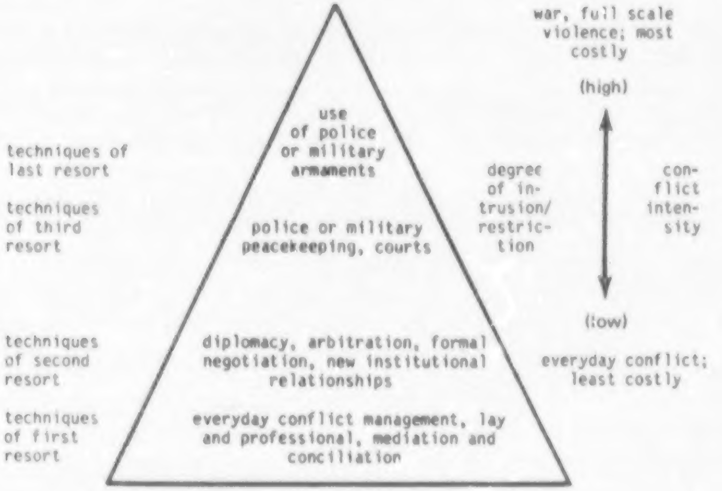
While recognizing the variety of meanings the word "peace" may evoke, the Commission suggests that peace itself may be a fundamental right, calling for us to apply "least restrictive" or "minimally intrusive" principles in devising means for its pursuit. In addition, the Commission believes those basic rights we protect and nourish might well be considered integral to an American concept of peace, in the sense that they represent the view of peace as a process that employs both broad participation and access to action and a range of options. The Commission notes, however, that a procedural emphasis may have Western roots not understood or accepted by non-Westerners, making comparative perspectives especially important to international peace.

Merging the right to conflict with the rights to create and compete leads to the following rule of conflict resolution: actions taken by parties in a dispute or by a third party intervenor--an arbitrator, mediator, or conciliator--should follow the view that a more permanent resolution is most likely when the parties in conflict provide each other the greatest degree of freedom and self-interest while reaching an acceptable agreement that resolves the conflict. This is the way to a positive sum result, a win-win outcome. A zero or negative sum result is more likely when a conflict is terminated by force imposed by one party upon the other or by a third party upon both. And, of course, when force is used, intrusion and restriction are greatest and may involve the ultimate measure, physical violence.

This principle is well-known to law enforcement and military planners when they devise a hierarchy of response mechanisms ranging from the least intrusive presence (perhaps mere visibility) to the use of weapons, which themselves are graded in destructiveness. Writers on conflict resolution represent this diagramatically. Regardless of which technique is invoked, within each there is a similar hierarchy.

Techniques at the lower level of the pyramid would include voluntary limitations in international trade rather than imposed ones, whether the concern is the automotive industry or infant feeding formulas. In human rights concerns where sovereignty matters, United States policy has emphasized least restrictive means, such as persuasion, backed by refuge in this country. Somewhat more intense techniques are illustrated by court diversion programs into community-based institutions. In labor-management disputes, arbitrators may be selected jointly by both parties, often by reviewing lists supplied by the American Arbitration Association with each side challenging a name until common agreement is reached. Peacekeeping techniques, whether in the Middle East or Miami, inject highly visible police or military forces, who represent disputants or are new parties, in an effort to impose some stability and order so that lower level techniques can be used. The presence of these armed forces can cool conflict, but it also risks escalation into violence should complementary lower-level techniques fail.

**PEACEMAKING PROCEDURES:
VIOLENT CONFLICT PYRAMID**


war, full scale violence; most costly
(high)
techniques of last resort
use of police or military armaments
degree of intrusion/ restriction
conflict intensity
techniques of third resort
police or military peacekeeping, courts
(low)
techniques of second resort
diplomacy, arbitration, formal negotiation, new institutional relationships
everyday conflict; least costly
techniques of first resort
everyday conflict management, lay and professional, mediation and conciliation

CONSIDERATIONS OF COST

Among the reasons the Commission urges greater attention to lower level techniques is that the use of more intrusive or restrictive methods, illustrated at the peak of the violent conflict pyramid, make conflicts and their management more costly. Options that threaten or employ force are expensive. The Commission includes the following expenses within those options:

* options of intrusion or force risk eruption of conflict into new violence and destruction;

* if the response or intervention option chosen is more forceful than necessary, deescalation to the appropriate, less intrusive level is difficult;

* more formal, forceful, or restrictive options have greater procedural cost as measured in delay and institutional investment, whether in the form of court backlogs and attorney skirmishing or the logistical, salary, and loss-of-life costs of police or military intervention;

* force and intrusion often create resentment and inhibit building consensus and reconciliation between the disputing parties;

* force and restriction may become overriding interests in a conflict, align disputing parties temporarily if the intrusion is

by an unwelcome third party, and distract from the real interests;

* a party perceived by others to prefer meeting conflict with force instead of through less intrusive means may lead other parties who anticipate conflict to prepare to meet force with force and to neglect investment in developing less forceful options to meet conflict; and

* maintenance and use of forceful or intrusive options are economically more draining than less restrictive options: the former require substantial hardware and personnel expenditures which are depleted during armed hostilities and may cause balance of payments problems; the latter generally require fewer people, have minimal hardware costs, and may involve stabilizing economic development or humanitarian aid investments which over time may reduce balance of payments problems.

Having noted the cost question, the Commission offers some of its thoughts with full acknowledgement that, in its short existence, it was not equipped to undertake original analysis of relative cost matters pertaining to conflict responses at various points along the range of options. To some extent, cost measurements must remain inherently flawed, both because one cannot measure the cost of a conflict that did not escalate into destruction and because one is hard-put to place a dollar figure on the interest that generated a forceful response. When one tries to evaluate what did not happen--to measure a negative--one encounters the fact that certain assumptions may not be shared by all. Perhaps in the end, it becomes a question of values and acceptable risk.

The Commission believes that holding true to America's peace heritage requires emphasis upon those options which are least restrictive and forceful. The Commission believes, further, that those options are virtually without exception less expensive, both in dollar costs and self-confidence; have positive economic benefits through stable trade and cultural relations; and once instituted may permit states and localities dependent upon military industries to plan more balanced civil economies through "economic conversion," to which Dr. Paula Rayman directed the Commission's attention in Boston and which Dr. Richard Williams defined for the Commission in Boulder as "a social, political, and economic process of transferring personnel, resources, and technology from one sector of the economy to another," with planning that alleviates the suffering that attends such economic shifts in communities.

In Washington, the Commission was reminded of the expense from overreliance upon military options to maintain peace, which it believes is increased by neglect of the nonmiliitary part of the range. Reverend Karl Mattson, Chaplain of Gettysburg College, recalled President Dwight D. Eisenhower's 1953 "cross of iron" speech:

> "Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, and the hopes of its children. This is not a way of life at all, in any true sense. Under the cloud of

> threatening war, it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron."

The Commission believes that establishment of the United States Academy of Peace is a direct investment in nonforceful, lower level techniques which can reduce the need for expenditures at higher levels. The more equipped we are to meet conflicts without force, the more we preserve forceful means for the few times they may be truly necessary. A reluctance to make this investment surely will mean more frequent reliance upon force, which may disrupt the peaceful norm we desire and exhaust budgetary resources that could be used more profitably elsewhere. The Commission recognizes that internationally our ability to defend our interests with force should remain clear. That potential may, when coupled with other techniques, encourage use of effective and available less restrictive alternatives. When these alternative choices are understood by Americans and others, and their utility and relative cost-effectiveness are further established through experience, then a fundamental part of the American heritage will be affirmed and will move this Nation and the world further along the path of international peace. In this light, the Commission has concluded that

> *THE UNITED STATES ACADEMY OF PEACE WILL STRENGTHEN AMERICAN SECURITY, PROMOTE INTERNATIONAL PEACE, AND REDUCE THE COST OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT THROUGH RESEARCH, EDUCATION AND TRAINING, AND INFORMATION SERVICES ON THE RANGE OF EFFECTIVE RESPONSES TO INTERNATIONAL VIOLENCE AND CONFLICT.*

V

Managing International Conflict

INTRODUCTION: SITUATING THE ACTORS

The scope of American international activity is so extensive that the Commission found it helpful to organize its thinking about American peacemaking activities through reference to the three basic types of American institutions. The Commission recognizes that, while there is some overlap and artifice, the system is comprehensive. Each institution has distinctive attributes. Government relies upon tax monies and sets and implements public policy. Private enterprise is directed to profitmaking and technological progress. And voluntary associations focus citizens' interests and power and receive special treatment (including tax exemption if in the private sector) arising from their acknowledged public benefit.

> *THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, BECAUSE AMERICANS ARE SO INVOLVED IN INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITY THROUGH GOVERNMENT, PRIVATE ENTERPRISE, AND VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS, WE ARE CHALLENGED TO EXERCISE A BROAD RANGE OF PEACEMAKING SKILLS IN A VARIETY OF INTERNATIONAL SETTINGS.*

In establishing the range of government peace activities, the Commission includes persons who work directly for public international institutions; in traditional foreign affairs through the Departments of State and Defense, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the International Communication Agency, the Peace Corps, and Senate and House Committees with jurisdiction over foreign affairs, defense, and international trade; and through other legislative and executive units whose activities extend beyond the borders of the United States explicitly or implicitly by way of domestic programs substantially affecting noncitizens. The latter encompasses portions of the responsibilities of virtually every congressional committee and federal department or agency as well as many state and local governments.

International corporate activities--whether through multinational and international corporations such as Gulf, Pepsi, Kodak, Trans World Airlines, and Ford, through radio, television, and print media, or through smaller companies selling and buying abroad--link the United States to all corners of the globe. The Commission views labor unions functionally as part of the private enterprise sector, fully aware that they arise historically out of the voluntary association tradition and that many public employees, too, are organized. Labor unions are inextricably part of business and many, such as the United Auto Workers and the International Association of Machinists, have international membership and are concerned about foreign economic practices in, for example, South Africa and the Soviet Union.

Beyond the private enterprise activities of labor and business is another important group of people whose activities largely involve international peacemaking: the university-based consultants. The Center for the Study of Conflict Resolution, founded at the University of Michigan in 1957, was a major force in bringing together scholars and practitioners whose work could contribute to the promotion of international peace. Today, university centers and institutes and individual faculty members across the country are involved in peace activities through consultant work as well as scholarship. The Center, which has since transferred to Yale, paved the way for similar current efforts at such institutions of higher education as Harvard, Brandeis, Princeton, Syracuse, Kent State, Michigan, Wisconsin, Missouri-St. Louis, Colorado, Washington, Southern California, and Hawaii.

As early as 1835, de Toqueville identified political and civil associations as fundamental expressions of the American spirit: "In no country in the world has the principle of association been more successfully used or applied to a greater multitude of objects than in America." A large proportion of Americans participate in two types of voluntary associations: religious organizations and public and private educational institutions at all levels. Voluntary associations also include foundations, institutes, centers, and groups large and small organized around issues and interests like the Benevolent and Protective Order of the Elks, Rotary International, World Vision, the Japanese American Citizens League, the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee, and numerous political parties.

The contribution a new federal peace institution could make to this comprehensive range of activities is substantial. The Commission has concluded, therefore, that:

> *THROUGH EDUCATION AND TRAINING AND INFORMATION PROGRAMS, THE UNITED STATES ACADEMY OF PEACE WILL SHARPEN THE PEACEMAKING CAPABILITIES OF AMERICANS IN GOVERNMENT, PRIVATE ENTERPRISE, AND VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS AND THEREBY ADVANCE THE NATION'S WORLD LEADERSHIP IN PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL PEACE.*

The Commission uses three representative stories to set the scene for further discussions directed to the establishment of the United States Academy of Peace. Each represents one sector of society and is preceded by capsule references to other persons or institutions from government, private enterprise, or voluntary associations who equally could give fascinating accounts. Each author reflects on the implications of his peacemaking activities and the importance of a national peace academy in the United States.

Ambassador Diego Asencio recalls negotiating from captivity in Colombia. Professor Roger Fisher presents a behind-the-scenes picture of the Camp David Middle East mediation. And the Rev. John Adams explains conciliation efforts directed to the release of the American Embassy hostages in Teheran. These first-person accounts make it apparent that clear lines between government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations waver and that the roles of negotiator, mediator, and conciliator are multifaceted.

GOVERNMENT

Americans are active as international public servants: for example, former Congressman Bradford Morse is Under-Secretary-General for the United Nations Development Program and Reginald Bruce is Executive Director of the United Nations Secretariat's Office of Public Information. Officials at the federal level play vital roles in international peacemaking through the Department of State, including its Foreign Service Institute staff; the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; the Department of Defense; the Central Intelligence Agency; the National Security Council; the International Communication Agency; the Peace Corps; and the Senate Foreign Relations and House Foreign Affairs Committees. American representatives to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization work on strategic and military financing issues and set a tone and standards that permit American officers and enlisted personnel to undertake troop movements, resolve cross-national professional and personal differences, and live in Europe with mutual respect. Ambassadors and other overseas federal employees participate almost daily in negotiations with their hosts and other foreign counterparts on questions ranging from fair and clear visa decisions to such significant agreements as Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan's mediating major debt forgiveness from the United States Government for India while he was Ambassador there.

These international activities are traditional. But government service involves international peacemaking more often than is ordinarily recognized. Most federal departments and agencies--for example, the Office of International Affairs of the Department of Justice's Criminal Division and that Department's Immigration and Naturalization Service and Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Environmental Protection Agency, the Drug Enforcement Administration, the Federal Communications Commission, the International Trade Commission, and the Departments of Labor, Commerce, Education, Agriculture, and Energy--have responsibilities that require their working through problems with foreign governments and people. And Members of Congress, whether their committee assignments are explicitly international or not, enrich their knowledge through foreign contacts and vote on fundamental issues of war and peace.

State and local government officials increasingly are involved in international activities that bear upon peace. Governor George R. Ariyoshi of Hawaii works on a range of Pacific issues, including Micronesian economic development and cultural preservation and the role of Japan. Governor William P. Clements of Texas meets with Mexico's President Jose Lopez Portillo and Mexican state governors on migration, tourism, trade, energy, narcotics, and the twin cities concept and now chairs the National Governors Task Force on North American Cooperation. Mayors Maynard Jackson of Atlanta and Edward Koch of New York have programs to encourage foreign investment in their cities. And Mayor Maurice Ferre of Miami works to develop his city into an international trade center for Latin America while Miami experiences varied impacts upon economic activity, the civil climate, and public services from Cuban, Haitian, and Nicaraguan migration.

The role United States Ambassador Diego Asencio developed while a hostage in Colombia is one example of highly effective negotiation by government officials in international peacemaking. When the hostages helped structure the formalized bargaining setting and used that opportunity to represent their own interests, they became a direct party to the negotiation. Experience helped them devise and apply innovative negotiating techniques. Ambassador Asencio's account of the negotiations from his hostage viewpoint illustrates how skilled, culturally attuned, and resourceful persons can use communication opportunities to shape fair conclusions out of chaos and violence.

DIEGO ASENCIO: NEGOTIATION

Manuel Asencio immigrated to the United States from Spain in 1918. A naturalized American, he returned to his home village of Nijar, married Delores Cortes, and their first child, Diego, was born a United States citizen there. At the age of six months, Diego and his mother sailed to Newark, New Jersey to join Manuel. Diego attended Newark public schools and, at his father's insistence, was tutored in Spanish language and culture. He graduated from the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, and in 1957, he began a career as a Foreign Service Officer with the Department of State.

Ambassador Diego Asencio presently is Assistant Secretary for Consular Affairs. His State Department service has included work in Washington on the Alliance for Progress and overseas assignments in Mexico, Panama, Portugal, Brazil, Venezuela, and Colombia, where he was United States Ambassador from November 1977 through June 1980.

When armed guerrillas seized the Dominican Republic's Embassy in Bogota and took 57 captives, including 12 Ambassadors, one hostage was United States Ambassador Diego Asencio. The guerrillas demanded $50 million, release of 311 prisoners, and safe exit. Two months later, they took safe passage to Cuba with $1.2 million:

On February 27, 1979, I went to the National Day Reception at the embassy of the Dominican Republic in Bogota. I had been United States Ambassador to Colombia for two-and-a-half years. A little after noon, two couples dressed in ordinary street clothes walked in with a line of guests and started shooting up the ceiling. Another twelve kids in jogging clothes ran in from the street corner where they had been standing with sports equipment bags. The bags held rifles, shotguns, pistols, and grenades. A shoot-out started between the guerrillas and my security men outside--one was badly wounded--along with police from the National University across the street. For about an hour some 200 shots were exchanged. Windows were shattered, walls were pockmarked. One guerrilla was killed and a few were wounded, one severely. A guest was badly hurt.

The siege lasted 61 days. The first three days I thought I'd be killed. They told me I'd be executed first, since I was the American Ambassador.

The group is known as the M-19 Movement. It is a splinter group that originally supported the late '50s candidacy of populist General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla. When he lost--there was some question about the ballot count--they went underground and emerged in the early '70s as a notorious and publicity-conscious outfit. In their first action, they stole Simon Bolivar's sword from a museum to hold "until democracy returned to Colombia." They claim to be nationalists, are militarily well trained, and support themselves through bank robberies and kidnappings.

When it looked like a seige was in order, they solicited the selection of a central committee from the hostages. The guerilla commander's view was to use the central committee to control the hostages and as a pressure-point on the Colombian Government through our governments. I was elected along with the Mexican and Venezuelan Ambassadors and the Papal Nuncio. I later asked that the Brazilian Ambassador, a fine international lawyer, be included.

The first and one of the most important considerations about my role is what I call "cultural relativity": the ability to bridge different cultures, which presumably a Foreign Service Officer has, if he is a good one. Having been brought up in a culturally diverse neighborhood in New Jersey, I probably had this in ample measure. Also, I had a full command of Spanish, knew Colombian history, politics, and psychology, and had some knowledge of their political platforms and of M-19. With this background, I could serve as a link between the guerrillas and the Colombian

Government, the United States Government, and other governments, could interpret how they were feeling, and could gauge my message accordingly.

The fourth day, the commander called a general meeting to read their position paper setting out demands--amnesty for 311 political prisoners; $50 million ransom; and safe passage out of the country. It was a terrible negotiation document, harsh, with outrageous requests, full of revolutionary cant, insulting the government and the President. It was a prescription for a fight, not a negotiation. After the meeting, I took the commander aside and suggested the document had deficiencies as a negotiation piece. All it would do is let the right-wing security element in the Colombian Government tag M-19 as savages who should be dealt with by force. He asked if I could do better. I said, "Sure, negotiation is part of my business."

With his consent, the Mexican and Brazilian Ambassadors and I set out to redraft the document. As experienced negotiators, we know that negotiation documents have to breathe, they need light and flexibility. If "demands" are "non-negotiable," there can be no negotiation. We cut out the confrontations and insults, demands they made as if by right, and still kept the negotiation points they wanted, including reference to human rights violations and more responsible government--their talk on dictatorship was pretty crude.

It even was fun. We used traditional diplomatic parlance: "The M-19 movement presents its compliments to the negotiators for the Government of Colombia and has the honor to make the following points...." They liked it, quite professional stuff. What we were able to do and they clearly couldn't was to control the document as an instrument. It's a skill that's quite trainable, it's really almost literary, and certainly essential to any negotiation that uses writing. By deft use of language, we were able to rephrase some of the guerrillas' statements without changing the content so they became negotiable interests. When the Colombian Government acknowledged the draft, we were in business.

Soon a van with doors off and a table and chairs inside was put in the embassy front yard as the negotiation place. The guerrillas permitted the hostages to talk by phone to their families and the Colombian Government installed a line for us to talk directly to the Foreign Minister.

In addition, we had walkie talkie communication with the military outside. All this time, of course, the building was surrounded by military forces and access to the vicinity was closely controlled. So the stage was set.

From the outset, amnesty for the 311 prisoners was absolutely unacceptable to the Colombian Government, legally and politically. Under the Colombian Constitution, the President may only grant amnesty with congressional affirmation; if the President were to grant amnesty unilaterally, he would be subject to impeachment. The government negotiators lectured the guerrillas repeatedly on such legal niceties. "Judicial framework" was elevated to catch-phrase, almost a curse-word in the guerrillas' frustration.

The hostage central committee quickly became integral to the negotiation process. For most of the process, the Mexican Ambassador accompanied the guerrilla negotiator at meetings in the van. After he quit following an argument in which he felt the Colombian representatives insulted him, the Peruvian Consul replaced him and subsequently the Bolivian Charge, and by the end we didn't have a hostage at the table. But it wasn't necessary then, as we talked a lot with the guerrillas: we set up an Ambassadorial Lecture Series, had debates, lobbied them before their meetings, and followed every negotiation session with a debriefing. The hostage central committee held daily strategy meetings and kept in close touch with officials on the outside. Still, the situation was so tense we couldn't set up a specific gameplan. We had to ad hoc it; if one thing hit a stone wall, we'd try another. Some examples:

- The Brazilian Ambassador recalled the use of the Vienna Convention in freeing Ambassador Elbrick. It states that host government care of diplomats supersedes other legal considerations. That change in the "judicial framework" wasn't attractive to the Colombian Government.

- We suggested accelerating the courts martial trials, to which the guerrillas' comrades were subject, or at least the release of a token number of prisoners whose pretrial detention about equalled the probable length of sentence. Again, no go.

- The top echelon of M-19, from number 2 to about 10, were in prison. We thought number 2 could be persuaded--our hidden agenda was a little plea bargaining--to give his blessing to the guerrillas and get them to accept less than their instructions. The Colombian Government was dubious: they thought he might just say, "Kill 'em all." Talks went on for two weeks. A Red Cross man came in and taped a message to number 2. The Colombian Government didn't put the pressure on and a tape came back--"Stay tough."

Then the break-through came, obscured in the usual technical prose of an instruction document from the President of Colombia to his negotiators. After a tense meeting in the van, the guerrilla negotiator and Mexican Ambassador came back in; both were furious. The negotiator threw a piece of paper--it was the instruction document--on the floor. I picked it up, saw the germ of an idea--bringing in the Organization of American States' Human Rights Commission to observe the courts martial proceedings--and said, "Wait a minute. There's something here."

The hostage central committee began to talk about what this Commission might be like. We praised the OAS and its Human Rights Commission to the skies: it would be the greatest thing in the world; think of the institutional impact; think of the benefits to society; you'll go down in history as having done something significant. And the guerrillas began to buy it. It would be a treaty between the Colombian Government and the OAS, sanctioned by international law.

At about the same time, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance sent Viron "Pete" Vaky, former Assistant Secretary for Latin America and former Ambassador to Colombia who knew the Colombian political scene quite well, to meet with the salient members on the scene to get an idea of what the real interests were. This impressed the guerrillas and added momentum to the OAS idea.

In addition, Tom Farer, Professor at Rutgers Law School and President of the OAS Human Rights Commission, met with the guerrillas and explained how the Commission normally functions and how this agreement would be historically important if the Colombian government let an international organization, the Human Rights Commission, sit in on trials, make observations on fairness, and have a continuing presence in the country to receive allegations of human rights violations. This struck the guerrillas as important and that discussion became pivotal in reaching final settlement of the demand that 311 prisoners be released.

The money side of the demands was handled by a Colombian businessman and a retired Colombian political figure as friends of the hostages. Eventually, about $1.2 million was paid, as by this time the guerrillas were working on the premise that money wasn't really all that necessary to maintain a "pro" status.

The final negotiation issue was where everybody goes. The hostage number now was down from 57 to 15 Ambassadors and two others, as people had been released for medical reasons and to show good faith and the Uruguayan Ambassador had escaped, much to the danger of everyone else. Exit became terribly complex, because they wanted to go to the Middle East along with a few of the Ambassadors, including me. At this point Fidel Castro came forward--he had offered assistance earlier that was rejected--and said he would accept the guerrillas and the hostages on a humanitarian basis and release the hostages in Havana. The Cuban Ambassador came in and I took him aside and said I wasn't going on any plane unless he assured us that the guerrillas would be disarmed and the plane would be under Cuban military control. I didn't want to end up in the Middle East. He agreed.

So on April 27, the guerrillas and 12 Ambassadors flew from Bogota to Havana and I was met there by State Department colleagues. Together we went on to Homestead Air Force Base, where my wife, my daughter, and some other family members were waiting. After a couple of days, the family and I came to Washington.

I think one of the lessons was that those hostages who remained physically and mentally active came out fairly well; those whose defense against the unpleasant situation was to become passive, suffered severely; and those with exceptional personal problems, whether physical or psychological, had them aggravated by their captivity. Recognizing this probability, we tried very hard to maintain an acceptable level of morale as part of the whole picture.

There is something called "the Stockholm syndrome"--fondness for your captors. It really was not applicable in this situation, where we were not sensorily deprived and were fairly well developed as adults. Nevertheless, a number of decisions were taken on the outside based on the thesis that the syndrome was a serious matter. I originally thought it was serious and widely applicable, too. I think, now, that it is an important consideration, but perhaps not all that common. A full-blown study of the Stockholm syndrome is needed. If the United States Academy of Peace did nothing else, that would be a useful contribution to the world. I feel so strongly about it, because I was taking my own emotional temperature and watching my colleagues very carefully; I expected it to manifest itself. I found all sorts of peculiar situations, some of them pathological, but no "syndrome." When I asked one of the Iran hostages about it, he agreed. It may develop sometimes, but for us it was the furthest thing from our minds.

Cultural relativity was a major tool in turning what could have been a disaster into a peaceful end. A cultural relativist, after all, can meet anomalous situations without feeling threatened by cultural differences; whether sheep eyes delicacies or Hispanic closeness, it all is interesting and there to study. This applies to American businessmen who operate internationally no less than to American diplomats or military personnel, even though the functions of business and government are different--one to make profit and the other to act as a channel of communication or means of defense. They all would benefit from training and perspectives that foster cultural relativity, not only with the goal of becoming better negotiators, mediators, and so on, but also to foster greater sensitivity to other cultures and modes of thinking.

To my mind, a good negotiation is one in which everybody wins. If it's a zero-sum game, it's not a real negotiation; it's an imposed outcome. One of the fascinating aspects of this particular experience was that the eventual solution did not contravene Colombian law or affect U.S. policy, yet it was considered an honorable solution by the guerrillas and a realistic and acceptable one by the many governments, hostages, and families concerned.

As a hostage, I was able to use my negotiation skills to bring a sound and safe ending. It worked in a way the guerrillas hadn't foreseen, and it was positive in the sense that they probably could not have carried out this negotiation without our help. The thing would have blown, and I think they realized that. If we hadn't changed the original paper; if we hadn't pointed out the obvious, although generally subtle and veiled offer the Colombian Government was making; if we hadn't developed the thought and drafted the agreement: we would have all be in rather deep water.

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

In Hawaii, Herbert Cornuelle, President and Chief Executive Officer of the Dillingham Corporation, underscored the importance of the Pacific Basin and testified:

> I believe that businessmen going around the world making promises and keeping them, doing business across international lines, can and often do surpass the work of the foreign service and foreign policy in making for peace.... [A] French economist I am fond of quoting said years ago that, when goods and services don't cross borders, soldiers will. This idea is a fundamental reality. Doing business, [for example] with the People's Republic of China, I think is every bit as important as what the diplomats do.

Steven Hochschild, founder and President of International Coins and Currency, spoke to the Commission in Boston. Business permits "creative freedom to practice peacemaking," he said. "Building a business may seem to some as primarily an economic exercise, but I see it as essentially an exercise in human growth and relationship-building among diverse people inside and outside the company. Our business success is a result of our peacemaking success."

In Atlanta, Andrew Young observed that "the multinational corporations have learned something about the inerdependency of the world in which we live." He suggested some examples:

> Coca-Cola's Board, Coca-Cola's staff and Coca-Cola's top management essentially are an international family. It's an international business institution which functions much more effectively on a world basis than the United Nations does or any concept of world government. Now the same thing is true of our international banks. Our international banks have made available the money for investments in all kinds of projects all over the world. I think we tend to look at the multinational corporation essentially when it does something wrong, as IT&T did in Chile and as other multinationals have obviously been guilty of in other places. But I would say, of the Fortune 500 companies, you would find that the companies that are basically meeting basic human needs around the world through private capital are doing so to the benefit of the people in those countries and making profits for investors here. They are providing jobs for us as American citizens, and essentially

> they require an atmosphere of peace in order to do business.

Speaking in Hawaii from a union perspective in words that could be modified to fit the business part of private enterprise, too, Ah Quon McElrath of Local 142, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, quoted union documents on democracy and peace principles and described some ILWU international activities:

> For nearly 20 years, our Union has had an overseas program which consists of sending as many as 24 rank and file members in teams of three to four to both capitalist and socialist countries to learn about working conditions of other peoples, about their hopes and aspirations, and how American workers can find identity with other workers on similar problems that beset them.

In private enterprise, no less than government or voluntary associations, the two-way flow of information, people, and products is basic. John Darnton reports from Poland for The New York Times on politics, culture, and the Solidarity union movement. Boston University Law Professor Robert Seidman devotes two years to directing the legislative program of the Government of Zimbabwe. Robert Stein works out of Washington with Environmental Mediation International on pollution questions between Canada and the United States. And Dr. Herbert Kelman, Professor of Social Ethics at Harvard University, develops workshops for Israelis and Arabs that facilitate movement from accusation to analysis and problem-solving.

Mediation is a time-tested conflict resolution technique in the private sector. It takes place in a negotiation context and thus requires that disputing parties by ready to negotiate. Upon invitation, a mediator frames a negotiation process or enters an ongoing negotiation. A mediator is not an agent of any of the parties--although in a sense he is an agent of all--and his presence is agreed to. His third party role is more formal than a conciliator's, but he lacks the binding authority of an arbitrator. As a nonpartisan actor, he can cut behind positions, identify interests, and suggest ways for the parties to resolve their conflict. He keeps communication open and can be active in fashioning a fair result. Roger Fisher's description of the United States' mediation strategy at Camp David illustrates a culturally-sensitive application of a domestic mediation technique at an international level and points to the importance of peacemaking scholar-consultants to international disputes.

ROGER FISHER: MEDIATION

> Roger Fisher is Samuel Williston Professor of Law at Harvard Law School. He is Director of the Harvard Negotiation Project, teaches negotiation in such diverse academic settings as Harvard, the Naval War College, the NATO Defense College in Rome, and the State Department's Foreign Service Institute, and advises governments and others involved in international conflict. His writings on negotiation have qualities that are sometimes missing in the works of scholars: both language and organization are direct and simple without loss of complexity or shading. In two meetings with Commissioners in Boston and through other communications, Professor Fisher shared thoughts on international negotia-

tion and mediation and on the peace academy concept:

Since 1939 when I first came to Harvard College and studied international law, conflict has been my primary professional concern. The goals have been practical. We need to achieve results that work, that permit us to carry on our differences in a less bloody, more efficient fashion. An important part of our job internationally is to carry on conflict better.

I see negotiation broadly; it is a means for people to participate and to accept results that they mutually work out. Participation and consent are fundamental principles of democracy. They are applicable internationally as well as domestically. To make them work, we have to know how conflict should be carried on from any point of view: what a negotiator should do; what a third party, such as a mediator, should do; what a partisan in a crisis should do. Since international conflicts are inevitable, we should be prepared to handle them well.

Before Prime Minister Menachem Begin and President Anwar Sadat came to Camp David, I had the good fortune to sit down with Secretary of State Cyrus Vance to talk about mediation. I shared with him a draft of INTERNATIONAL MEDIATION: A WORKING GUIDE. There are two principal theses behind that book. First, mediation is a skill that can be learned. Mediators are not simply born. We subtitle the book "Ideas for the Practitioner." However much we may know, with more knowledge we can do better. Second, the most effective mediators are active participants in the negotiation process. Certainly mediation facilitates dialogue; but it can be much more than a postal service. If a mediator limits his or her role to asking for people's positions and for concessions, people tend to lock themselves in; movement becomes more difficult. So, we talked about the process that could be used at Camp David.

We agreed that it would be useful to use a single negotiating text. Various procedures based on a single text were used at the Law of the Sea Conference, by Lord Carrington in mediating a settlement of the Rhodesian-Zimbabwe conflict, and by Henry Kissinger in a portion of his shuttle diplomacy. I have also discussed with Theodore Kheel the use of a single draft text in labor-management disputes. Stimulated in large part by Professor Louis Sohn, we at the Harvard Negotiation Project had developed a particular variation on prior work which we now call the one-text procedure. Although differences between it and other uses of a draft may seem subtle, they are significant. Properly used, it ignores the stated positions of the parties to focus on their underlying interests; it reduces the number of decisions required of each side; it allows the parties to participate in generating a plan before having to decide whether to accept it; and it tends to restructure a conflict so that the parties, rather than confronting each other face to face, are working side by side, facing the shared problem of improving the draft.

How the one-text procedure works is illustrated by what happened at Camp David in September 1978.

In the one-text procedure as we discussed it, the Americans would first listen to the Egyptians and the Israelis. Questions would be designed to illuminate their respective interests, not simply their declared positions. The mediator team would prepare a rough draft, and then ask each side for its criticism: "What would be wrong with something like this? We are not proposing it. In fact, we are not particularly pleased with it ourselves. But what interests of yours would it not take adequately into account?" The mediator team would meet separately, first with one side and then with the other. Neither side would be asked for acceptance or for a concession, but only for criticism. It is hard to make a concession; it is easy to criticize.

Based on the criticisms of Draft 1, a second draft would be prepared and subjected to further criticism. The process would be repeated over and over again. No one would be allowed to reject or accept any paragraph since nothing was yet being proposed. The stance of the mediator would be to see if he could develop a recommendation he would be prepared to make. The whole draft would remain flexible and open until the mediator himself decided to make a recommendation.

The one-text procedure was used by President Carter at Camp David. Not having been there, I cannot do justice to the many elements of timing, stress, personality, and detail involved. However, I had a couple of telephone calls during the meeting and have since discussed it with participants from all three countries. Incidentally, Israeli and Egyptian negotiators at Camp David had been trained at Harvard Law School.

The positions of Egypt and Israel with respect to the Sinai were incompatible. Israel's declared position was that it must retain some of the Sinai. Egypt's declared position was that it must regain every inch. But looking behind their positions, Israel's interest was in security and Egypt's interest was in sovereignty. This difference opened the door for agreement. After a few days, the United States advanced its first draft with one side and then the other. The process of successive non-binding drafts of a discussion text to which no one was committed continued until the thirteenth day. There had been some 23 drafts of all or part of the negotiating text which the United States was preparing in light of the criticisms and suggestions of Egypt and Israel. Finally, the United States had decided that this was the best it could do under the circumstances.

To paraphrase the dialogue, President Carter took the draft to Prime Minister Begin and said, "Now is the time." Prime Minister Begin said, "I've made no concessions." President Carter responded, "That's right. But with this draft, you now have a proposal before you. I'm prepared to recommend this. Will you accept it if President Sadat accepts it?" Only one decision was asked. There were no contingencies. Saying "yes" would not lead to a request for further concessions. Prime Minister Begin said "yes."

President Carter then took the text to President Sadat. "Though you may not like this," he said, "it is the best I can do. Mr. Begin has said 'yes'." President Sadat also was faced then with a decision that was mechanically simple: yes or no. He obtained an undertaking from President Carter to continue as a full participant in the peacemaking process, and then said "yes."

There were, of course, a great many elements which contributed to the success of the Camp David meeting, in particular the enormous dedication and personal effort which those there devoted to the task. One can ask questions about the substance of the Camp David accords, and whether it might have been both possible and wiser to proceed on a basis that included additional Arabs. But those in the business of keeping the world peaceful need every bit of help they can get. Camp David does suggest that technique--method--can help.

Camp David is one of many stories that illustrate the power and importance of methods of coping with differences. We lawyers have spent thousands of years improving the judicial process. Where a judge is involved, we have learned that one question is to design and maintain a fair process, and that a second question is how a lawyer should argue within that process to obtain a favorable substantive result. But when no judge is involved, as is typically the case internationally, we often fail to distinguish between the task of establishing a fair negotiating process and the questioning of how best to negotiate within that process.

In international affairs, most people most of the time focus their attention on substantive problems. Yet how international affairs are conducted is a problem of procedure, and procedure is likely to determine whether there can be a substantive outcome. Within a family, among neighbors, and within a community, the substantive distribution of assets at any one time is far less important than the way in which differences are dealt with. We need to recognize that fact internationally.

Within the United States, most of us have learned that making threats and escalating disputes is not the best way to carry on our differences. We have learned that a working relationship is not something that can be bought or sold in exchange for substantive concessions. Again, we need to apply that knowledge to the international situation.

I support the establishment of a peace academy to be concerned with improving the process by which we and others carry on our international affairs. The focus, it seems to me, should be on the international problem. Domestic experience should be studied only to the extent that to do so is expected to yield knowledge relevant to the international problem.

The first task is thus research. The academy itself might gather some knowledge, but I see its task as supporting outside research of a practical nature and perhaps contracting for applied research. A peace academy should be concerned, for example, with designing effective negotiating procedures, standard cease-fire agreements, and check-lists for mediators.

Its major role would be educational, including both short and longer training programs for mid-career professionals. The design and continual improvement of such programs is central. Military officers and foreign service personnel should learn the range of ways to influence officers of another government beyond sending formal diplomatic notes or making threats. They should know how to distinguish emotional and perceptual problems from ones involving an objective conflict over interests. They should become expert at looking behind positions for underlying interests, at generating multiple options that could reconcile those interests, and at finding standards for settling a dispute that are independent of the naked will of either side. They should become expert at converting economic and military assets into negotiating power by developing and improving their "BATNA"--the Best Alternative To a Negotiated Agreement. They should understand how to use third parties and how, for example at a multilateral conference, to behave like one.

Finally, there is a need for public education. Foreign conflict is frequently made worse by domestic political considerations. A public that wants peace may induce its leaders to behave in bellicose ways that make peace more difficult. No one wants a propaganda agency, but certainly it would be as important for a peace academy to have public information materials explaining how international problems are settled as for the Department of Commerce to have public information pamphlets explaining import-export regulations.

Thus, a peace academy, in my view, ought to respond to the needs of people outside of government as well as in government. American businessmen and labor representatives are active throughout the world, and my experience is that they frequently are called upon to exercise peacemaking skill. An academy, then, should be a truly national institution devoted to the international peace interests of us all.

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

Voluntary associations are native to American society. Voluntarism in America can be traced to the frontier days, and even back to the Pilgrims, when small communities sought organized ways to express mutual concerns and to execute plans of action. They are an American cement to community. Government as we know it would be impossible without voluntary associations; whether political parties or simply concerned groups, they are part of the fabric of public life.

Today, voluntary associations operate domestically and internationally. Their international range of activities encompasses educational, cultural, scientific, and humanitarian purposes operating through educational institutions, foundations, religious groups, and various modest nonprofit organizations. Their long-range interests in world peace and stability are witnessed in their economic, social, and educational activities. People engage as individuals through organizations of their own creation, as distinct from citizens operating only through government channels.

Voluntary associations are catalysts and stabilizers in the maintenance of peaceful and cohesive relationships among nations. The particular undertakings of higher education, special independent research and training institutes, foundations, professional associations, and religious organizations attest to their success both domestically and internationally. The sustenance and enhancement of such programs are fundamental to America's peacemaking goals. Extending this voluntary notion from its domestic vigor to a global level is crucial to creating networks that link America and the rest of the world. Although government serves many similar concerns, through such programs as the Peace Corps, Fulbright scholarships, and Eisenhower fellowships, voluntary sector programs add otherwise missing links. In 1975, the Commission on Private Philanthropy and Public Needs, commonly called the Filer Commission, observed:

> On the map of American Society, one of the least charted regions is variously known as the voluntary, the private nonprofit, or simply the third sector. Third, that is, after the often overshadowing worlds of government and business. While [government and business]

> have been and continue to be microscopically examined and analyzed and while their boundaries are for the most part readily identified by experts and laymen alike, the third sector--made up of nongovernmental, nonprofit associations and organizations--remains something of a "terra incognita," barely explored in terms of its inner dynamics and motivations, and its social, economic and political relations to the rest of the world.

For many decades, institutions of higher education have used overseas programs to enrich their academic and cultural offerings. The cumulative result of these exchanges is sounder communication between the United States and other nations and a sharpening of skills in global issues analyses and problem-solving techniques. Based upon research, technical training, seminars, and cross-cultural experiences, more internationally-sensitive curricula have developed, although formal education on peace issues still remains diffuse and spotty. Schools of diplomacy offer courses in peace and conflict, but arms control, like many other related topics, continues as a "cottage industry" with scholars scattered and isolated, according to an Arms Control and Disarmament Agency report shared with the Commission by Dr. Lawrence D. Weiler of the ACDA.

The training and briefing of foreign personnel and students in American academic institutions are increasingly important as other nations effectively participate on matters of mutual concern. The Institute of International Education assists both foreign students in the United States and American students abroad. Specialized university programs such as Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government and its Center for International Affairs and those offered by the members of the Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs* have long and successful records in educating and training foreign students. Foreign nationals educated in the United States have been instrumental in interpreting and expressing their respective nation's policy interests and strengths and short-comings at different levels.

Greater attention still must be devoted to the skills of international communication. At the Twelfth Annual Student Symposium of the Center for the Study of The Presidency, the University of Missouri's President James C. Olson stated:

> Conferences such as this one on "Independence and Interdependence in the 1980's" highlight a glaring oversight in the past academic agenda of the United States--neglect, if not in many cases the complete ommission, of an emphasis on international education....
>
> During the past few years, however, there has been a resurgence of interest in international education. The revitalization is due in part to the President's Commission on Foreign Languages and International Studies. The Commission's concluding report [STRENGTH THROUGH

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*Columbia University's Faculty of International Affairs, the University of Denver's Graduate School of International Studies, Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies, the University of Pittsburgh's Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, and The American University's School of International Service.

> WISDOM: A CRITIQUE OF U.S. CAPABILITY, 1979] states that: "... on a planet shrunken by the technology of instant communications, there is a little safety behind a Maginot line of scientific and scholarly isolationism...."
>
> Success in the future, both personally and on a national scale, will be highly dependent upon the development of a greater understanding of the world through international education and communication.

Religious organizations are the voluntary associations at the forefront of peace activity in the United States. One bridge between church and education was drawn for the Commission in New York by Dr. Joseph Fahey, who traced the inspiration for the Manhattan College peace program he directs to Pope John Paul XXIII's encyclical "Pacem in Terris." Religious representatives who addressed the Commission were, without exception, delighted at the possibility of the federal government creating a new institution for peace. Among the, Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, Director of Interreligious Affairs of the American Jewish Committee, noted the intense interest in peace from all sectors of the American Jewish community. From the three historic peace churches, Delton Franz presented a statement by the Mennonite Central Committee Peace Section; Courtney Siceloff spoke in Atlanta for the American Friends Service Committee; and Ronald P. Hanft submitted written testimony in Washington for the Church of the Brethren. Their concerns about peace and justice were reiterated in Portland by Dr. John T. Conner, former Moderator of the United Presbyterian Church; in Hawaii by the Rev. Teruo Kawata for the United Church of Christ; in Tallahassee by Monsignor Brian O. Walsh, Director of Catholic Charities; and in Boston by His Eminence Humberto Cardinal Madeiros who urged:

The needs of the emerging generation, both in the U.S. and throughout the world, will be poorly served if the Peace Academy were to become an institution given over to developing strategies for waging weaponless warfare. In order to avoid this, the methods of conflict resolution must be in the service of justice, human rights, and the fulfillment of basic human needs.

Three short accounts drawn from religious activity help situate the fuller social ministry observations by the Rev. John Adams of the United Methodist Church:

* In St. Louis, Margaret Sonnenday, former international president of the ecumenical Church Women United (founded December 7, 1941), described the organization's activites, including its CAUSEWAY program: "Since 1966, church women from 43 countries have walked the CAUSEWAY in Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, East Asia, Cuba, islands of the South Pacific, Autralia and the USA" to learn firsthand and develop peace networks among women throughout the world.

* Dr. Roland Warren, who participated in the Commission's early planning, spent two years in the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic for the America Friends Service Committee soon after the Berlin wall went up in 1961. Through almost daily contact with persons on both sides of the wall,

he used "Quaker good offices" to clarify, share information while keeping trust, reduce tensions, and suggest opportunities to avert escalation and promote reconciliation.

- * Raymond Helmick, a Jesuit priest from the New England Province of the Society of Jesus, described to the Commission his decade of activity from London that led him in 1979 to found there with English and Irish Jesuits the Centre of Concern for Human Dignity. Enlightened by his extensive work on areas of conflict and suffering including East Timor, Cyprus, the Middle East, Latin America, and South Africa, the Centre harkens back to 1972 when he was a hod carrier in Belfast along with an American Protestant clergyman. Working in Belfast to develop neighborhood organizations and industries protected from violence led him to conclude that the troubles in Northern Ireland must be addressed through community building, economic development, and more positive roles for the church, both Protestant and Catholic.

Foundations and other not-for-profit institutions round out the voluntary association sector. Special independent institutes and organizations have been vital in pinpointing international voices and trends. In Washington, Dr. Robert Pranger of the American Enterprise Institute told the Commission "that the foreign and defense studies area is but one aspect of the Institute's work

... [and] the Institute has had a long-standing interest in conflict resolution--in the Middle East particularly." Such institutions as the American Arbitration Association, the American Enterprise Institute, the Arms Control Association, the Brookings Institution, the Center for Defense Information, the Council on Foreign Relations, the East-West Center, the Heritage Foundation, the Institute for Policy Studies, the Population Reference Bureau, Stanford University's Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, the Trilateral Commission, the Union of Concerned Scientists, the United Nations Association of the United States of America, the World Affairs Council, the World Peace Through Law Center, and World Priorities (which annually publishes Ruth Leger Sivard's "World Military and Social Expenditures") participate in a wide range of international issues of concern to the American public, policymakers, specialists, educators, and the media through their research, conferences, and publications. Many Non-Governmental Organizations have consultative status with specialized agencies or other United Nations bodies; in 1980, 607 international Non-Governmental Organizations had that relationship with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Stanley Foundation, and the New World Foundation, among others, fund scholarship and related activities directed to peace. The Ford Foundation has provided funds for population research, for justice centers, over $7 million for arms control study, and 12 years ago began major research and action programs on conflict resolution. Experts in its field offices include political scientist Dr. Ann Lesch in Cairo and lawyer-anthropologist Dr. Norman Singer in Khartoum who work on issues of government service delivery, political and legal change, Middle East and East African peace, agricultural development, and refugee support. Major General Indar J. Rikhye (ret.) directs the International Peace

Academy in New York. Although limited by an annual budget most recently of $558,000, IPA brings together diplomats, international civil servants, and expert peace practitioners to develop ways to improve negotiation, mediation, and other peacemaking tools. From its staff, Dr. John Mroz has written on Middle East impediments to peace and Dr. Henry Wiseman participated as one of 200 accredited observers in Rhodesia watching the transition through democratic elections into the new state of Zimbabwe. In New York, Dr. Wiseman recounted to the Commission:

> Most [observers] were directing their attention to the question as to whether the elections were free and fair. I, too, was concerned about that issue, but in terms of research, I want to tell you that I was the only one there that was looking at how the Commonwealth Monitoring Force was working, and how the Commonwealth Observer Group was working, what impact did it have on the situation, what were its failings, how could it be improved, and in essence, how can the experience of Zimbabwe provide lessons and practical techniques for the resolution of conflict in other areas.

Voluntary associations in the United States are broadly engaged in activities that promote international peace. The Commission sees them today, as de Toqueville did a century-and-a-half ago, as bedrock institutions in this democracy and as important as government and private enterprise to the peacemaking role of this Nation:

> Nothing, in my opinion, is more deserving of our attention than the intellectual and moral associa-

> tions of America. The political and industrial associations of that country strike us forcibly; but the others elude our observation, or if we discover them, we understand them imperfectly because we have hardly ever seen anything of the kind. It must be acknowledged, however, that they are as necessary to the American people as the former, and perhaps more so. In democratic countries the science of association is the mother of science; the progress of all the rest depends upon the progress it has made.
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> Among the laws that rule human societies there is one which seems to be more precise and clear than all others. If men are to remain civilized or to become so, the art of associating together must grow and improve in the same ratio in which the equality of conditions is increased.

Conciliation is one "art of associating together" practiced by persons involved in social conflicts. Conciliation is the least structured of the four major conflict resolution techniques. Unlike a negotiator, arbitrator, or mediator, a conciliator frequently works in pre-negotiation situations to establish and maintain communication among disputants and, if appropriate, to move them into more formal bargaining formats. Conciliators may employ fact-finding and observation and help some disputes to be resolved informally. In addition, conciliators play critical roles in helping agreements to be kept and in reconciliation efforts that prevent future conflicts after agreements are reached. The Rev. John Adams' account of the mail exchange for American Embassy personnel held hostage in Iran and their families and of his later activities surrounding the arrest and release of Iranian student demonstrators illustrates conflicts crossing national boundaries and the application of conciliation skills at community, national, and international levels.

JOHN ADAMS: CONCILIATION

> One of many members of the clergy engaged in social conflict ministries, the Rev. John Adams' activities with the United Methodist Church from 1967 to 1980 focused on community and national conflicts throughout the United States. Whether unpublicized disputes or such well-known conflicts as the urban disorders of 1967 and the Wounded Knee confrontation of 1973, Rev. Adams' ministry has involved him with numerous government officials and private citizens, principally in the third-party intervenor roles of observer and conciliator:

In January 1980, John Thomas of the International Indian Treaty Council and I sat in Teheran in the anteroom of the office of Abolhasem Sadegh, Director General of the Foreign Press in the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran. While we waited after office hours for a scheduled appointment with Mr. Sadegh, we looked at six prominent posters on the walls. In the center of each was a picture postcard from the United States. One was of the White House, another of the United States Capitol, another of the World Trade Center in New York City, and so on. Clustered around these cards from the United States were several photographs, unprofessional ones, obviously taken with someone's personal camera.

They were pictures taken on the Pine Ridge Reservation of the Ogalala Sioux in South Dakota, and they showed the poverty prevalent there. The contrast between the magnificence of the government buildings and commercial centers and the deterioration of the reservation's huts and shanties was striking. More striking, though, was the existence of these posters on the wall of an Iranian government office thousands of miles from the United States.

We learned that Mr. Sadegh had been educated in the United States, become a United States citizen, and for three years been a Vista Volunteer on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Later, he renounced his American citizenship, partly because of what he had observed of the treatment of Native Americans, and he returned to Iran.

A discussion of more than two hours developed from an appointment that was to have been 20 minutes, as we shared the concern that brought us to Teheran. John Thomas and I had come to deliver letters and packages to the hostages held at the United States Embassy by Islamic students and to pick up mail from them.

Our presence was a result of John Thomas attending a World Conference of Liberation Movements in Teheran earlier that month at the invitation of the Islamic students. While there, he had spoken about the lack of mail and other contacts between the hostages and their families in the United States. He could do this easily with the students, as a number of them stayed in the same hotel. He was unexpectedly permitted to see one hostage and was given 156 letters from 41 of the hostages to bring back to their families and friends. Inconvenient and expensive conditions were placed on the delivery of the mail: letters were not to be channeled through the State Department or placed in the U.S. mail. This necessitated personal delivery and hand-carrying of letters.

The International Indian Treaty Council asked the Board of Church and Society of the United Methodist Church to help organize delivery of the letters and to assist in making arrangements for return mail to the hostages. That is how I became involved. I should add here that the State Department knew about our activities and cooperated with the effort. A more formal and fully organized "Hostage Mail Exchange Service" was then established. With its functioning, many hostage families said that "things began to open up for us." Mail flowed between Teheran and the United States more freely through two or three channels. Packages of supplies, photographs, books, and games were permitted into the embassy compound. Tape recordings were taken. Three international telephone calls from hostages to their families were made. Obviously, a line of communication had been offered; the conditions for its operation had been carefully complied with; and an even more open response was given in return.

The mail exchange met a basic human need of the hostages and their families and provided an alternate line of communication with the captors. It also stimulated on-going communication between an extensive network both in and between Iran and the United States. These communications gave an opportunity to express concern for the condition of the hostages and to urge that the process for gaining their freedom be expedited. The exchanges also gave a forum for the grievances of the Islamic students, which clearly were an important factor in the revolution that was still in progress and in the conflict with the United States that centered around the hostages. Finally, the linkages required in planning and executing the mail exchange undoubtedly helped reduce tensions at critical times and contributed to a climate in which negotiations ultimately could be conducted. The mail exchange was suspended after the aborted April 24-25 rescue mission and was reestablished almost 10 weeks later.

On July 27, the Shah died. Three previously planned Iranian demonstrations took place that day on the streets of Washington. These events covered just a few hours and threatened to cancel totally the many constructive earlier initiatives. Demonstrations and counter-demonstrations involved the Iran Freedom Foundation, a group supportive of former Prime Minister Shaphur Bahktiar and the Shah; the Coalition of Iranian Students, which was anti-Shah and pro-democracy, but not necessarily supporters of the Khomeini government; and the Moslem Student Association: Persian Speaking Group that strongly backed the Ayatollah and the form of government being shaped under his authority.

The demonstrations were carefully orchestrated by the police through the issuance of detailed permits in an effort to avoid any direct confrontation between the politically diverse groups. Order deteriorated as the Shah's death, occuring earlier on the exact day, heightened hostility among the factions and increased tension within the police who were assigned to the events. One-hundred and ninety-one Iranian students were arrested, principally from the Moslem Student Association. A major new crisis--within the hostage crisis--had erupted.

In the United States, the Moslem Student Association claimed there had been police brutality in Washington and charged that those who were arrested had been beaten in jail, denied use of toilet facilities, and threatened with weapons. A group of Iranian students began a hunger strike on the sidewalk in front of the White House to "condemn the brutality of the barbaric police" and to "demand the immediate unconditional release of those innocent, injured brothers and sisters." They vowed to continue the strike until every single student was released.

Within days, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini charged that the Iranian students were "chained in prison and under torture." Iranian Foreign Minister Sadegh Ghotbzadeh sent a message to United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim urging him to send a delegation to visit the arrested students. In Teheran, 250,000 Iranians filled the streets around the United States Embassy, protesting the "torture" of the students jailed in Washington.

Late at night on the day of the demonstrations and arrests, I received a telephone call at home from a spokesperson of the Moslem Student Association. He told me that many students had been injured and the Association could not locate them to determine their condition or be assured they were receiving adequate medical attention. He asked me to help find them and to give any assistance I could. Although I could not know of the imminent reaction in Iran, I sensed immediately that a serious liability could develop that would delay any resolution of the hostage crisis.

My telephoning to city officials and others began immediately. The next morning, I went to see Robert Klotz, Deputy Chief of the District of Columbia's Metropolitan Police in charge of the Special Operations Unit, and then contacted Delbert Jackson, Director of the District's Department of Corrections. He put me in touch with corrections officials who said it was impossible for them to help me locate particular students, since they had refused to identify themselves at the time of arrest. Lawyers retained by the Moslem Student Association also were denied access to the students, because they could not identify their clients by name. There was an impasse.

I was able to arrange a meeting between Director Jackson and two representatives of the Moslem Student Association and their attorneys. Mr. Jackson stated that the lawyers could go into the D.C. jail as soon as the students gave their names and were placed in individual cells. The student representatives would not cooperate on the matter, since they were protesting what they felt were unwarranted police actions and unjustified arrests. Upon my suggestion, Mr. Jackson granted permission for a small group of us--myself, lawyers, and student interpreters--to enter both cellblocks, where the men and women were being detained separately, to check their conditions.

On July 29, we spent nearly five hours with the confined Iranian students. Already they were showing the effects of their refusal to eat and rejection of medical attention. From the outside, it could be reported as torture. On the inside, it was the result of an active protest.

The student representatives at our meeting after the jail visit demanded release of those jailed and asserted they would talk to no more government officials. They assured us those in the cellblock would go on a dry hunger strike if moved to individual cells. Since neither the lawyers nor the spokespersons for the students wanted any further discussion with the government, I contacted Mr. Jackson and met at his office to go over the situation. He told me this was one of the worst dilemmas he had faced since assuming his position and that he felt "alone." The federal government was silent.

I left his office and went directly to the Iran Working Group at the State Department. I described to them what I had witnessed in the jail. I alerted them to a crisis that already existed, would probably become more serious, and was basically unknown to them.

During a second meeting with Mr. Jackson and the Association, initiatives began to be taken within the district Government and the next day misdemeanor charges were dropped against the students.

Immediately, however, the Immigration and Naturalization Service notified the District Government that it would take custody of the students on detainers in order to investigate the status of their visas. On August 1, with heavy security, the 20 women were transferred to the federal detention center in Manhattan and the 171 men were taken to a new federal correctional facility in Otisville, New York.

The next day, August 2, I was invited to a meeting of the students and their lawyers scheduled for the next morning at a downtown Washington motel. I was glad I attended that particular meeting, for after much heated discussion and fiery criticism of the American government, I heard one of the spokespersons for the Moslem Student Association remark almost casually, "Our committee has agreed that the students who are in prison should now identify themselves." I moved to the edge of my chair and asked, "You are ready for the students to give their names to the authorities?" The reply was that the members of the Central Committee of the Association who were not in prison wanted to make that recommendation to those students who were, but expected many would need to be persuaded that it was the right action after having been on a hunger strike for six days. I then asked, "Do representatives of the United States Government know of this change?"

When they replied, "No, they do not, but you can tell them," I ran to a telephone booth and called the Iran Working Group at the State Department to ask their assistance in setting up an emergency appointment with David Crosland, the Director of the INS. Within an hour after I had returned to my office, Mr. Crosland called. We agreed to meet at 5:30 PM that day in his office. I was to bring the lawyers representing the Moslem Student Association. The spokesperson for the Association declined to attend the meeting, but asked me to represent their position.

During the meeting, I asked that the attorneys, along with an interpreter and a spokesperson for the Association, be allowed to go, first to Otisville and then to Manhattan, to explain the change and to persuade the students to give their identities. Mr. Crosland responded positively. He said any student who was not "out of status" would be released and not charged with failure to properly identify himself, which is a separate deportable offense under the Immigration and Nationality Act. He asked whether I was willing to go with the delegation. I was. We were on the 9 PM shuttle to New York City.

Early the next morning, a Sunday, we drove up to Otisville and went into the federal correctional facility. We met with the warden, the regional representative of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, INS representatives from the New York City office, and two top INS staff persons from Washington. After a short discussion of security matters, the warden permitted us to have a group meeting with the students by releasing them from their individual cells and locking us all in one room. The students warmly embraced each other and each of us in the delegation. They were weak from the hunger strike, then in its seventh day.

Mohammad Badr, the student spokesperson who travelled with us, asked the group to sit in rows and opened the discussion in Farsi, the language of Iran. He appealed to them to accept the action of the Central Committee: to give their identities. Among the questions the detained students asked me was whether "this is not a trick to identify the students so that they can be further charged?" I replied that I trusted Mr. Crosland, but that I would telephone him at his home to clearly reconfirm the offer he had made.

I immediately called Mr. Crosland from a nearby office. I told him about the situation and that I was being questioned about the offer. He repeated exactly what he stated in his office and added, "This is not an unlimited offer. I must have a prompt reply." I reported back to the group. Within a few moments, they voted to accept the recommendation of the Central Committee. They then asked for medical attention from an Iranian doctor, who had come up from New York in case he was needed by them.

A representative of the students was dispatched to Manhattan to interpret the offer to the women students being held there. The next morning, their agreement was obtained. By August 5, it became apparent that the overwhelming majority of the students had proper immigration status and could be released. Meanwhile, the reaction from Iran was intensifying and beginning to have deleterious effects upon negotiations over the hostage release. All but one Iranian student was released on August 6, after nine days incarceration.

The crisis within the hostage crisis has ended. On September 12, Ayatollah Khomeini declared that the hostages would be released if the United States Government met four conditions. That statement was the first concrete offer made in public by Khomeini to advance the negotiation for the hostages' release. I am convinced that disciplined and professional police performance, coupled with eventual cooperation from the Iranian students and rapid responses by American officials at both local and national levels, helped restore the process of negotiation. It was an example of international peacemaking, on the streets of Washington.

There is a discipline for the peaceful solution of conflict. There is theory and there are concepts that can be taught. There are skills to be learned. Many of us did not know this as we were thrust into conflicts. We went into the midst of them out of a respect for all human life and dedication to the peaceful resolution of conflict: the desire to see justice done.

We had to learn that commitment is not enough. The desire for peace is not sufficient. Peace is not even based upon the saving of human life, as important as that is, for some are dedicated to giving their lives, if necessary, to achieve justice. Peace, we came to see, is not an absence of conflict; it is the presence of justice. That, I hope, will be the promise and legacy of an academy dedicated to peace, that is, to peace with justice.

What the United Methodist Church helped John Thomas to accomplish with the mail exchange and what I, through its offices, was able to do to help resolve the conflicts involved in the arrest and release from prison of Iranian students are example of the process of conciliation. There are many, many more that others could tell.

The mail exchange partly lowered barriers to the hostages' human right of communication. Conciliation helped the State Department's Iran Working Group and other federal and local officials see and meet the storm developing out of the simple act of refusing to identify oneself. Identity, after all, was the issue that blocked access to the students in the District of Columbia jail and was the sticking point with INS. In Teheran, Washington, Otisville, and Manhattan, John Thomas and then I became trusted messengers and brokers able to suggest ways out of various impasses. Just the doing of that involved so many people that it added to the human face of the situation.

At so many junctures, communication was stifled. Whether from power in Iran or actions and rules in the United States, people took positions that frustrated clarity about their own and other parties' interests. A medium was needed, a way to get the mail through--literally and figuratively. These third party conciliations made it possible, I believe, for the United States and Iran to see their way more clearly in negotiations. With concern over the hostages' health somewhat mitigated and the crisis that began on the streets of Washington defused, the real matter--the release of the hostages--got back on track.

CONCLUDING NOTE

In this chapter, the Commission has examined some of the international peacemaking activities and capabilities of the three major sectors of American society: government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations. The three first-person accounts represent the societal sectors as well as the three prominent types of peacemaking roles which seek agreement among parties to international disputes: negotiation, conciliation, and mediation. The fourth type--arbitration--may be less common in the sometimes chaotic international arena, but it is likely to receive greater use as negotiated agreements are skillfully drawn and directed to future peaceful relationships.

Two facts emerge from the first-person stories: first, the line between international and intranational disputes is blurry and there is much interplay between these levels; and second, opportunities to engage in peacemaking are sometimes unanticipated. This is true for Ambassador Asencio's negotiation success and the Rev. Adams' conciliation assistance as well as for Professor Fisher's mediation advisory role.

To the Commission, it is clear that the United States must develop research, education, and training opportunities to augment and share these types of experiences. This effort can be critical to international peacemaking. The Commission is confident that the numerous potential beneficiaries of the United States Academy of Peace will come from all sectors of society across the Nation.

VI

The Field of Peace Learning

INTRODUCTION: DEFINING THE FIELD

Describing the field of peace learning* is no less complicated than defining the field of health. Health focuses upon disease and dysfunction and extends beyond to matters of physical and psychological well-being: diet, nutrition, exercise, stress, boredom, and air and water quality. Peace has war and mass destruction as its core concerns and directs additional attention to questions of political and societal structures that reduce harmful conflict and make conflict productive, and of social and interpersonal means to promote affirmative human capacities. While the roots of the health field may be in religion, it now relies heavily upon pure and applied science, and science, in our day, carries a sense of certainty. Peace learning has its roots squarely in the humanities and the arts, including religion, and scientific learning, both in methodology and technology, increasingly is applied to questions of peace.

Because both fields involve basic issues of life and death and enlist political and societal decisions, the analogy between health and peace is instructive. There are, however, important differences. In no small measure due to the expenditure of immense sums of money, the health field has developed numerous professional divisions, such as medicine, nursing, and hospital management, and distinct disciplines, such as psychiatry, oncology, and anesthesiology. In this, the health field in the United States has substantial support from the Federal Government, and the field receives similar attention from other nations' governments, too, particularly in Europe. Many American schools of medicine have benefitted from federal funding, and individuals are assisted through Medicare and Medicaid. Furthermore, the health field has its own federal institution, the National Institutes of Health. In short, the health field is highly organized and has clear popular approval, even if there remain areas of dispute.

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*See p. 18 above for a brief description of peace learning.

To date, the peace learning field has suffered from both inadequate investment and unfocused public sanction, especially in the United States in muted contrast to Europe and Japan, despite the generally understood need to address issues of peace with as much intensity as health. The Commission trusts that its work will begin the reversal of such neglect.

A mark of health professionalization is that its practice is viewed by many as outside the scope of lay competence. Peace is not so highly professionalized; neither credentials nor licensing is required for participation. In the Commission's view, professionalization of peace-related expertise should be set in the broader context that peace is everyone's business. A too exclusive professionalization of peacemaking would contradict both our heritage and the extensiveness of American involvement in peace activities.

Not restricting the field to "professionals" does not mean, however, that peace learning shunts aside the development of high professional levels of competence and expertise. The opposite is the case. Peace scholars hold top academic positions, and expertise in practice is increasingly demanded: the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, which involves peacemaking in the domestic labor-management arena, requires significant practical experience of most of its mediators, and the State Department now offers a brief course in negotiation at its Foreign Service Institute. It is equally important, the Commission believes, that peace learning not be atomized into separated disciplines. The strength of the field of peace learning comes precisely from its multi- and interdisciplinary character. It is the combination of diversity and a fusion of disciplines directed to common goals that defines and invigorates the field. In its research, education, training, and practice, creativity in peace learning advances from the shared insights of anthropology, the arts, economics, geography, the health sciences, history, the humanities, linguistics, philosophy, the physical sciences, political science, psychology, religion, and sociology.

TO ACTIVATE THE FIELD OF PEACE LEARNING

While the Commission believes it fortunate that peace is neither fully professionalized nor a single discipline, the Commission has established that peace studies is a distinct and definable field of learning for three reasons: it has a literature, courses of study, and professional organizations; it has well-defined assumptions and definitions, and a variety of research methodologies; and it has a strong applied component in the practice of conflict intervention.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT PEACE IS A LEGITIMATE FIELD OF LEARNING THAT

ENCOMPASSES RIGOROUS, INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH, EDUCATION, AND TRAINING DIRECTED TOWARD PEACEMAKING EXPERTISE.

A brief excursion into the research component of the field will illustrate this judgment.

PEACE RESEARCH

In 1978, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization published its third Directory of peace research institutions, following earlier editions in 1966 and 1973. The survey identifies 310 peace and conflict research organizations, which include those supporting peace research. Of these, 41 are international and 269 are national research organizations. The United States has 79 of these research groups, more than any other nation. The range is fairly broad, as indicated by inclusion of the following American institutions: the Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development (COPRED), a group of about 100 United States' and Canadian institutions and organizations headquartered at Kent State University; the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; the University of Colorado's Institute of Behavioral Science; Duke University's Rule of Law Research Center; the East-West Center in Hawaii; the Hudson Institute; the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Center for International Studies; the Conference on Peace Research in History, headquartered at the University of Toledo; the University of Michigan's Correlates of War Project; the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; and Yale University's Department of Political Science, from which the JOURNAL OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION is published.

Most institutions are relatively small: two-thirds reported staffs of 20 or less. Budgets, too, are generally modest, leading to specialities even though interests may be more expansive. For example, a prominent Western peace research institution is the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, which the Swedish Government created in 1966 and supports through an annual appropriation of about $1.3 million. Its field of concentration is reflected in its annual publication WORLD ARMAMENTS AND DISARMAMENTS SIPRI YEARBOOK.

Because the UNESCO survey relied heavily upon self-definition, the listing of peace and conflict research organizations contains only modest overlap with the 1,755 social science institutions listed in UNESCO's WORLD DIRECTORY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTIONS and the many research institutions devoted to scientific and technological issues that concern peace research, such as those which participate in the activities of the Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs. In consequence, many organizations whose work touches upon peace questions and many individual peace researchers are not included.

The UNESCO survey shows clearly that peace research is a worldwide activity. It also illustrates how loosely knit and even isolated peace researchers are, which may account to some extent for what the Commission views as unfortunate neglect by policymakers of useful knowledge from the field. Still, peace researchers do meet through a number of international organizations; among them are the International Peace Research Association now headquartered in Tokyo, which has convened biannual conferences since 1964; the International Studies Association which has sections in North America, the Caribbean, the United Kingdom, and Japan; the Peace Science Society (International); the International Society for Research on Aggression; the International Political Science Association and the International Sociological Association, which each have special research committees on peace and conflict.

Peace researchers gain further linkage through United Nations agencies. These include UNESCO's

Division of Human Rights and Peace, which has a budget of $1.2 million, and the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), which was "set up to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations in the areas of peace and security and the promotion of socio-economic development" and applies 10 percent of its million dollar budget to peace research; it has a new Center for Disarmament Research in Geneva. Additional linkages may develop through the United Nations University headquartered in Tokyo--which uniquely has no faculty or student body but works to develop collaborative scholarship on world hunger, human and social development, and the use and management of natural resources--and through the University for Peace, recently authorized by a United Nations General Assembly resolution establishing an international center of superior education for postgraduate teaching, research, and dissemination of knowledge, specifically oriented to training for peace. The Government of Costa Rica has offered the headquarters site for this new United Nations body. Addressing the Commission in New York, Jose Miguel Alfaro, Vice President of Costa Rica, shared the peace learning and peacemaking concerns of Costa Rica's President Rodrigo Carazo:

> ... our President said that if we wanted to have a 21st century, it would have to be a peaceful century. And he proposed to change the centuries-old concept "cives passum para bellum"--if you want peace, prepare for war--to a positive outlook on peace as a value in itself, to a concept that could be phrased "cives passum para passum"--if you want peace, prepare for peace.

Without rigorous research on peace, preparation for peace will continue to be haphazard and difficult. As the Commission probed the field of peace learning, it raised sharp questions about the state of peace research, mindful of the danger of false promises and unsubstantiated claims. The Commission is satisfied that the research aspect of the field is sufficiently well-developed to warrant the establishment of the United States Academy of Peace with research as an important function. Like the disciplines of international relations, group behavior, history, and geography, peace research exhibits substantial debate over methodology. Theory is in the early stages of creative development. Data sets are still inadequate. The proper mix of theoretical investigations and empirical research, the balance between field research and archival and secondary research, and appropriate assumptions and frames of reference are questions of deep concern to peace researchers.

The Commission has taken note of a tendency for some outside observers to confuse peace movement activity with peace research, a confusion particularly evident during the anti-war movement of the Vietnam era. Commissioner Elise Boulding commented during a Commission meeting in Washington on activism versus research in relation to Commission hearings:

> There is perhaps some misperception of the degree to which the "peace movement" has had either input or much interest [in the work of the Commission]. Peace researchers are a different category. It may happen that some peace researchers also happen to be advocates of peace in the movement sense, but most researchers are international researchers with a focus on disarmament and nonmilitary solutions to conflict [regardless of] ... their personal positions.

On divisions within the field, Dr. J. David Singer, who directs the Correlates of War Project at the University of Michigan, has written:

> ... there can be too much consensus in a field, especially when that field is characterized more by the science of discovery than the science of verification. There are to date few grounds for embracing any particular set of methods within the scientific mode and even fewer for accepting any of the contending theoretical orientations. We just do not know enough yet, and the current diversity is a healthy rather than a dangerous condition. I would even argue that commitment to a common paradigm in any macro-social science discipline today is a sign of atrophy and stagnation, rather than of scholarly advance. Our theoretical and methodological diversity is to me a sign of health, curiosity, and vigor, auguring well for the future of the field.

The Commission, too, finds much promise in the different approaches and methods the field is developing as it delves deeper into issues of peace. Ideolcgical conformity in such a field would be counter to our best scholarly traditions and inappropriate to a new national endeavor.

Speaking to the Commission in Boulder, Kenneth Boulding reviewed developments that led to the emergence of this profoundly important "new field of human knowledge":

> In its origin, conflict studies owes much to an American historian, Quincy Wright, whose classic work is entitled A STUDY OF WAR, and to

> an English meteorologist, Lewis F. Richardson, whose two great works, ARMS AND INSECURITY and STATISTICS OF DEADLY QUARRELS, were circulated in manuscript for many years before they were finally published in 1960. The two "founding fathers" in some sense symbolize two sources of the [field], ... one coming out of the study of war, the other coming out of the quest for peace. The first goes into the arms control movement, as reflected, for instance, in the foundation of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in the early 1960s. The second goes into the peace research movement, symbolized perhaps in the formation of the International Peace Research Association, under the sponsorship of UNESCO, again in the early 1960s.

What once were different sources have now become identifiable research branches of the field of peace learning: peace as absence of war and peace as social justice. They are complemented by the third branch--peacemaking techniques--which equally reflects the field's concern with policy-relevance and application. A brief description of each branch now follows.

Peace as Absence of War: On January 7, 1980, the Council of the American Association for the Advancement of Science adopted the following resolution:

> WHEREAS the present international system contains a positive probability of nuclear war, a situation which the scientific community has made possible.

> BE IT RESOLVED that the AAAS commends Congress and the President for appointing a Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution and expresses the hope that such an Academy will be established, with the ability to mobilize the scientific community for researcch and information exchange into the processes by which stable peace and disarmament can be generated and the probability of war reduced.

This resolution is squarely within the peace as absence of war branch of peace research. In a letter to the Commission, Randall Forsberg, President and Executive Director of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, suggested:

> Two questions have especially important bearing on the relationship between armaments and peace. One is empirical evidence on the correlation between arms races or arms balances and the outbreak of war.
>
> The other question involves an analysis of the intended modes of use of specific types of wars. In working for peace there is a decisive distinction to be made, for example, among the following types of war: 1) superpower, unilateral, conventional intervention in smaller countries, such as the U.S.S.R. in Poland or the U.S. in the Persian Gulf; 2) a conventional war between NATO and the Warsaw Pact; 3) an exchange of nuclear weapons between the United States and the Soviet Union.

In Washington, Lawrence D. Weiler, Special Assistant for Public and Academic Liaison of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, testified:

> I do not know if the Commission will conclude that the arms race--in its broadest political as well as hardware sense--is one of those [critical] areas [requiring increased research and training]. Given the fact that my own professional life has been devoted to this subject, my judgment could possibly be viewed as parochial. I would, therefore, submit for your reflection a statement made years ago by John Foster Dulles:
>
>> "... [The] destructive power inherent in matter must be controlled by the idealism of the spirit and the wisdom of the mind. They alone stand between us and a lifeless planet. There are plenty of problems in the world, many of them interconnected. But there is no problem which compares with this central, universal problem of saving the human race from extinction...."
>
> I have personally become increasingly concerned by the gap between the magnitude and significance of the problem of the arms race and the resources that we as a society devote to understanding and dealing with it.... We have not as a society matched our resources to what we proclaim to see as one of

mankind's greatest dangers.

Congruent with Dr. Weiler's testimony, the Commission believes that the Academy should and will devote significant resources to questions of war and the arms race, nuclear and other, in collaboration with the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and other government and nongovernment institutions that focus on those issues.

A number of scholars investigate these questions and others that pertain to global and national conditions leading to war or permitting the conduct of large as well as contained wars, and to ways international and other major conflicts can be waged without war. The Commission cites the work of two such scholars to illustrate the peace as absence of war research branch of the field. They are Dr. J. David Singer and Dr. Gene Sharp. Their work represents this branch's uses of historical and political science modes of analysis, including comparative and qualitative case studies and systems theory. Singer's work is heavily quantitative and employs computer technology. Sharp prefers non-quantitative description influenced by classical political theory. Sharp is an apostle of nonviolent action as a political tool and of a nonmilitary civilian defense. Singer works to develop predictive schema useful to policymakers in preventing war. Each recognizes the inevitability of international conflict and believes that scholarship can be policy-relevant and can reduce the possibility of mass destruction while advancing security interests and national goals.

Singer's work is informed by the view that

> ... the better our knowledge about the processes by which groups move from incompatible interests to conflict to mass violence, the more readily we can distinguish between those factors which are beyond our control and those which we had best

> try to modify. If, near the brink, it is too late to change certain structural, cultural, or material properties of the system, but still possible to change others, the knowledge which permits us to make that distinction is of no mean consequence.

Singer makes every effort to state clearly his assumptions and values and encourages others to make use of the extensive and painstakingly-developed data bank of the Correlates of War Project which he directs. He recognizes the interdependency of peace and justice, but argues that

> ... war, and the recurrent preparation for war, may well be a greater obstacle to the achievement of justice than the opposite. That is, we may be able to reduce the incidence of war while injustice remains, but are quite unlikely to reduce the incidence of injustice while war remains an accepted condition of the human community. As long as war is a regular mode of human problem-solving--and today its legitimacy remains virtually unchallenged--people and resources will continue to be mobilized for war. The material and psychological consequences of such continuing mobilization can hardly be conducive to the growth of civilized discourse, generous cooperation, human liberties, or economic development.

Like other peace researchers, Singer is concerned that his type of work on issues of peace and war be presented in ways that facilitate appropriate attention from policymakers. Too often, he suggests, peace researchers succumb to impenetrable prose, and quantitative work on peace is manipulated to fit a policymaker's preconceptions or is ignored because it is less familiar than military or industrial studies. He suggests:

> Although our progress in the generation of knowledge has been painfully slow, that pace seems breathtaking in contrast to the rate at which political elites and the attentive public have taken an interest in the findings, concepts, and methods of recent research on conflict and war.

Singer and his colleague Michael Wallace suggest that policymakers should be encouraged by the quality of empirical research on peace as the absence of war:

> ... the early warning indicators strategy is already showing considerable promise; in less than two years, the research community in North America has generated a significant number of indicators that are not only useful "omens" for the policy maker but also demonstrably systematic and reliable.... And, judging from the growing conceptual and methodological sophistication displayed in these essays [in TO AUGUR WELL], we have only begun to tap the possibilities inherent in this approach. The day will never arrive when "calculation will replace argumentation" in the foreign policy process, but perhaps it is not too much to hope that the "mix" may in due course be modified.

Sharp's work is historical rather than mathematical. It represents important philosophical traditions and is one historian-political scientist's effort to address issues of war, conflict, and peace with practicality and a new set of research concepts. Sharp's major and seminal contribution is THE POLITICS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION. His premise is that:

> Basically, there appear to be two views of the nature of power. One can see people as dependent upon the good will, the decisions and the support of their government or of any other hierarchical system to which they belong. Or, conversely, one can see that government or system as dependent upon the people's good will, decisions and support....
>
> Nonviolent action is based on the second of these views: that governments depend upon people, that power is pluralistic, and that political power is fragile because it depends on many groups for reinforcement of its power sources. The first view--that people depend on governments, that political power is monolithic, that it can really come from a few men, and that it is durable and self-perpetuating--appears to underlie most political violence.

Sharp describes nonviolent action as a powerful technique that is neither passive nor submissive; does not depend solely upon psychological persuasion; does not require that its users be "good" people or that its goals be "good"; and is not limited to domestic conflicts within a democratic system. After he establishes theoretical premises in Part I, "Power and Struggle," he presents a thesaurus of 196 nonviolent action methods in Part II, "The Methods of Nonviolent Action," and then a tactical handbook in Part III, "The Dynamics of Nonviolent Action." The thrust of his work is to describe, with massive historical evidence, how and why "to apply nonviolent action in place of violence in the crucial conflicts of today and tomorrow."

Sharp's most recent book, SOCIAL POWER AND POLITICAL FREEDOM, continues the themes set in THE POLITICS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION, but is considerably shorter and written in a more popular style than the earlier work. In his "Introduction" to SOCIAL POWER AND POLITICAL FREEDOM, United States Senator Mark O. Hatfield of Oregon comments on Sharp's rational pragmatism by quoting General Omar N. Bradley's November 11, 1948 Armistice Day Address concerning what Hatfield terms the limits to "what the mind of man can do alone":

> "With the monstrous weapons man already has, humanity is in danger of being trapped in this world by its moral adolescence. Our knowledge of science has clearly outstripped our capacity to control it. We have too many men of science, too few men of god. We have grasped the mystery of the atom and rejected the Sermon on the Mount. Man is stumbling blindly through spiritual darkness while toying with the precarious secrets of life and death....
>
> "... The world has achieved brilliance without wisdom, power without conscience. Ours is a world of nuclear giants and ethical infants. We know more about war than we know about peace; more about killing, than we know about living."

Hatfield urges that "Dr. Sharp's intuitive grasp and understanding of the practical vehicles for just such an application of divine principles make this work monumental in its time," even though "the case he presents ... is not made on moral or theological truths; rather it rests on history. Therefore, Sharp's case has relevance to all, no matter what their theological or moral persuasion."

Sharp's work is not heavily theological, but in Boston he spoke to the Commission on conflicts that come from humanity's universal reverence for life and the need for dignified relationships:

> I think that the attention [of an academy] should be primarily, though not exclusively, focused on what I call acute conflicts. These are the conflicts in which the issues at stake are perceived by one or both parties [to be] of extreme importance [and] on which compromise is normally not possible. Now, this means there are many other types of conflict in which compromise and those means of conflict resolution such as arbitration, conciliation, negotiation, and so forth, are useful, and they should receive attention also. But the most serous ones are those in which people believe they cannot compromise because of grounds of moral principles, because of the societal and political consequences, and therefore, the people are prepared to fight. And normally that means they are willing to fight by violent means.

Peace as Social Justice: As is clear from the statements of Singer and Sharp in the preceding section, peace as absence of war does not shut out the concerns of peace as social justice; Singer simply suggests a priority relationship between the two, and Sharp may agree that, when reduced to fundamentals, social justice may be the basis for conflicts over which there is no "compromise because of grounds of moral principle."

The World Order Models Project represents one aspect of the movement in research toward peace as social justice. Saul Mendlovitz writes that the World Order Models Project

> ... was initially conceived in response to pedagogical needs related to the study of the problem of the elimination of war as a human social institution.... It soon became clear that the subject matter would have to be expanded to include the related problems of economic well being and social justice, if we were to generate a world interest in this inquiry.... Many persons ... argued that it was impossible to deal adequately with war prevention without taking into account poverty and social injustice; that as an empirical matter, these matters were so inextricably interwoven, they should be seen as part of the definition of the problem of war prevention. More importantly, however, it became increasingly clear that while peace, in the sense of the elimination of international violence, might have a very high priority with individuals in the industrialized sector of the globe, economic well being and social justice received a much higher rating in the Third World.

These attitudinal differences that reflect value weightings in various cultures were illustrated to the Commission by Dr. Donald McNemar. After speaking about structural and institutional violence which arguably allows a black South African half the life-span of a white, he stated:

> People view various values quite differently. If you talk with Africans ... and said, "Let's talk about what kind of future world we want," we'll have some various values. The Americans [would say], "Peace is terribly important and the environment is becoming even more so." The Africans [would say], "You've got your priorities wrong. Until southern Africa is resolved, we can't talk about peace as being a prime value. We may have to use war in order to resolve that issue."

A major European proponent of research into peace as social justice is Johan Galtung, first holder of the Chair in Peace Research at the University of Oslo. Tightly linking peace and violence, Galtung suggests that "in a conflict, there are incompatible goals states in the system of interaction, [making] it clear that an asymmetric relationship must always be one of conflict, i.e., involving structural and possibly also personal violence." Galtung illustrates his view of violence through an "heuristic device [of two questions] ... to show how untenable the classical conception [is] in terms of direct violence between states":

> (i) Violence is deprival of life, like in a battle; it is intended and is a quick process. But what if it is not intended, and/or takes place slowly like in a slum? Is that not violence? It might even be argued that it is usually more violence, for if the victim dies 32 years old in a battle he is usually in good health the moment before,

> whereas a slow death is usually preceded by a process of increasing near-death.
>
> (ii) Imagine a country engaged in no external war at all. Is that country in a stage of peace if internal wars are raging, or if the other type of violence discussed above is rampant?

Having agreed, then, to probe beyond the immediate questions of peace as absence of war, peace as social justice research seeks to identify at least decently arguable if not yet scientifically causal explanations of fundamental social discord and human misery and to suggest ways to overcome them. Like the other two branches of the field--peace as absence of war and peacemaking techniques--peace as social justice researchers work as problem-solvers. Marek Thee, editor of the BULLETIN OF PEACE PROPOSALS, describes substantive issues in peace research as shifting along a continuum from a narrow to a wide matrix of concerns involving a great variety of types of studies. On his continuum, peace as absence of war would limit itself to the two categories at the left, while peace as social justice would explore all the categories:

THEE'S PEACE RESEARCH CONTINUUM

Focus:

the nation-state in the international system	manifest physical violence	structural socio-economic violence	repressive political violence	alternative futures

Thee's Peace Research Continuum (cont.)

Subject:	international relations, general international system studies	war/peace armaments/ disarmament studies	underdevelopment/ development studies	human rights studies	world order workable utopia studies
Goal:	realization of United Nations ideals	abolition of war	satisfaction of basic human needs, social justice, equality of nations	human autonomy and self realization	progressive transformation of the human society

Peace as social justice is prescriptive as well as descriptive in approaching "future worlds." It requires straight statements of operative values. Dr. Elise Boulding writes:

> One thing that the development of futurism, the first cousin of peace research, has done for twentieth century science is to deal a deathblow to the old discussions about value-free science. In envisioning alternative futures, the first thing futurists have to do is to clarify their values and priorities, and to lay out their working assumptions about the nature of the human conditions and the potentials of the social order.

The five values adopted by the World Order Models Project--peace, ecological stability, economic well-being, social justice, and participation--represent this type of value and priority clarification. Social justice, which may be the clearest principle next to peace, includes "life, health, freedom, basic material comforts, and equal social status." Its Biblical roots are found in the Hebraic concept of "Shalom." Because of its clarity and its ties with long-standing concerns of social activists in the United States, the Commission believes that social justice best identifies this branch of peace research.

The Commission sees research on peace as social justice as highly important to development of the field of peace learning. Without it, both peace as absence of war and peacemaking techniques may lose the value base they need and the constant challenge to their own assumptions. Despite its importance, it has less immediate importance to policymakers than the other two branches. The difficulty for the Commission, specifically in regard to the United States Academy of Peace funding original research from the peace as social justice branch, is that the work in that part of the field tends "to adopt the more traditional analytic interpretive style of research, rather than the more methodologically sophisticated behavioral science approach." This is due less to research style preferences than to the scope of questions involved, the high cost of complex and rigorous empirical analyses, and the difficulty in obtaining sufficiently precise data on these issues globally.

Peace as social justice may not be the most useful priority research area for the Academy at this time, but from the pedagogical side, it should be an integral part of the Academy's education and training programs and information services. This will keep the public and policymakers abreast of what is being done in the area in this country and elsewhere and will be important to practitioners and researchers who are more active in the other two branches of the field of peace learning--peace as absence of war and peacemaking techniques.

Peacemaking Techniques: The third major branch of the field of peace learning is peacemaking techniques. The Commission expects the Academy to focus substantial attention on research about peacemaking techniques, through the study of peace, conflict, and social processes and such analyses as strategic formulations in bargaining and gaming. Knowledge from peace as absence of war and peace as social justice research remain vital to peacemaking techniques. Dr. Daniel Levinson pointed to this in testimony before the Commission in Los Angeles:

> My message is that a successful effort to do something fundamental about conflict, in all its forms and in all its locations, must look at its sources and causal factors as well as techniques of resolution. A better understanding than we now have of the causes of conflict would not only provide a rationale for methods of conflict resolution, it might also suggest effective methods to prevent conflicts from developing in the first place. Prevention is always better than cure.

To a large extent, research in peacemaking techniques and the training that can develop from it draw from the behavioral sciences. They are directed to application both by individuals and by groups. A question that resounded throughout the Commission's public seminars, for example, was "Can conflict resolution techniques be taught?" There was almost universal consensus that the skills of the four basic peacemaking techniques--negotiation, conciliation, mediation, and arbitration--are teachable. These techniques form a continuum; what one learns about one technique is useful to another. Negotiators represent a party's positions and interests. Conciliators work at both preliminary and subsequent stages to a formal negotiation. Like conciliators, mediators and arbitrators are third parties who help disputants reach accords, with the difference being that an arbitrator can impose an outcome and a mediator can only suggest one.

Speaking about training and education in peacemaking, Eldrin Bell, Atlanta's Deputy Director of Police, responded to the question, "Can peacemaking be taught?"

> The answer seems implicit. Surely the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. and Mahatma Gandhi taught the theories of nonviolence they advocated as much as they espoused them. The question of peaceful resolution to conflict can even be answered with the local efforts of our domestic violence teams. Out of 2,300 referrals, we have had only four homicides. Even the number of repeat referrals has been lower than we had originally anticipated.

Echoing the view of Theodore Kheel, who assured the Commission in New York that negotiation and mediation can be taught, Richard D. Fincher of the American Arbitration Association stated to the Commission in Boston: "The theory and skills required in effective conflict resolution can clearly be taught. Since 1968, the AAA has conducted training for hundreds of aspiring neutrals and has developed a curriculum that provides the optimal blend of theory and case simulation." In Washington, Dr. Wayne Horvitz of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service testified: "There is a body of mediators which says, 'Mediators are born and not made.' I happen to think that that is a lot of malarkey."

Addressing the diplomatic side of peacemaking, Professor Richard Pipes suggested to the Commission in Boston:

> ... We're not really training diplomates at Fletcher or Georgetown; we're training people in international relations.
>
> ... The art of negotiating in international relations is a great skill acquired partly through teaching, partly through experience, and partly through teaching accumulated experience. There are certain things you can be taught. For example, if you're going to sit down with the Russians, we know that certain things have to be prepared. With Russians, you have to be extremely specific. You have to work out a [detailed] agenda. You have to keep very good records. You have to spell out in greatest detail every term you're going to use. Nothing must be left to a simple sort of general understanding.
>
> This is just one of the many rules that have been established in dealing with the Russians that can be taught, and I believe properly trained diplomats can achieve a tremendous amount in defusing international tension.

And Ambassador Diego Asencio urged building upon our capacities as cultural relativists:

> ... when you find yourself in a situation that is anomalous because

> of cultural differences, you don't feel threatened, [but] rather interested.... A person who is conditioned to reacting that way is able, even if he gets sent in improperly and inadequately trained, to pick up these perceptions as he goes along and to study the society in those terms.... There is no question in my mind that these are teachable traits and, approached properly, the whole idea, particularly in the international context, is bridging these gaps.

Research in peacemaking techniques is intimately tied to training as well as to education, and that results in rather different media and scholarly attention than is common to peace as absence of war and peace as social justice research. Some work is synthesized into book-length studies, such as Kriesberg's THE SOCIOLOGY OF SOCIAL CONFLICTS, Deutsch's THE RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT, Curle's MAKING PEACE, Burton's CONFLICT AND COMMUNICATION and DEVIANCE, TERRORISM AND WAR, and Wehr's CONFLICT REGULATION. Other work of great value appears as handbooks or monographs: Fisher's INTERNATIONAL MEDIATION, the International Peace Academy's PEACEKEEPER'S HANDBOOK, Laue's "Intervening in Community Conflicts," Rip and Lincoln's "Impartial Intervention into Community Disputes," and the Ford Foundation's "New Approaches to Conflict Resolution." And there are a number of useful collections of essays and studies, including Bermant, Kelman, and Warwick's THE ETHICS OF SOCIAL INTERVENTION, Wilkenfeld's CONFLICT BEHAVIOR AND LINKAGE POLITICS, and Smith's CONFLICT RESOLUTION: CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES.

The range of questions addressed by research in peacemaking techniques is large and joined by a common interest in applicability. It includes techniques for reaching arms limitation agreements, border settlements, interstate environmental accords, and decisions on locating contested community facilities. Success to date in application has been rather mixed. Lawrence D. Weiler suggested that the literature is extensive, but too confined within academic walls: "Thus, if there is a need with respect to this field, it is not research on the techniques as such, but it is to make them more relevant and to expose practitioners to them in some form of post-graduate study."

The Commission suggests that research is substantial, but has not exhausted the questions and dilemmas of peacemaking techniques. It is true, however, that translation into readily usable form has been inadequate. Because of its complementary program and delivery system structure, the United States Academy of Peace should be able to remedy this deficiency in the field substantially and in a relatively short period of time.

Issues may be defined situationally, as Dr. Philip Jacob did for the Commission in Hawaii, with the focus kept on performance. Dr. Jacob suggested four basic areas requiring research on techniques. First is communication, encompassing perceptional and behavioral aspects of direct and third parties to conflicts, mass media, public opinion, and technological instruments. Second is peacekeeping, both in methodology and in establishing a reservoir of effectively trained people. Third is negotiation, mediation, conciliation, and arbitration, including the internal processes of such teams and their relationships with their own governments or organizations. And fourth is social change strategies which extend beyond the immediate crisis and include forecasting. Dr. Jacob said it is here that "traditional diplomacy is extremely weak. Very little time is left to address the fundamental problems of peacemaking, and it is crisis after crisis."

Although research on peacemaking techniques is extensive, it may be the research area of least systematic attention, perhaps because it requires a blend of practitioner experience, scholarly dissection, and educational and training interests. Yet it is also the one that harbors the most immediate payoff. One can foresee, for example, peacemaking technique courses enriching the curriculum of the Naval War College. At the Commission's Boston public seminar, Rear Admiral Edward F. Welch, Jr., President of the College, reported that the faculty use a multidisciplinary curriculum in the school's three basic courses of study--strategy and policy, management, and naval operations--to meet its commitment "to furthering the essential continuance of peace and the resolution of conflict by peaceful means."

Research on peacemaking techniques is pragmatic and looks at all the actors in conflict roles. Richard Pipes told the Commission that the United States has even relied upon Soviet translators, and thus a Soviet record, "in all major negotiations conducted with the Soviet Union over the past ten years." Unlike us, he said,

> ... The Russians have an academy of international relations where they have an incredibly tough program. It lasts six years ... [and] negotiations are part of it. It's a school for diplomats in which negotiation is one of the things they teach and, by all accounts, they produce superb negotiators.... Now, we have a great and long record of experience in negotiating with the Soviet Union. I brought with me a volume which has been put out very recently by the Committee on Foreign Affairs called "Soviet Diplomacy and Negotiating Behavior." This is a superb volume ... [by] Joseph Whelan working for the Congressional Research Service, with just incredible evidence of our experience negotiating with the Soviet Union since 1918 virtually

> to the present. [It] shows there are certain patterns which we run into, there are certain mistakes we commit, there are certain patterns of Soviet behavior which we ought to know.
>
> ... I believe we need far more attention to be paid to the teaching of negotiating techniques. This is a very ancient art and developed first in the Italian City States in the 14th century; it has a long tradition behind it--how states deal with each other even though they are very hostile to each other. We ought to teach people: in particular, what kinds of experience we have in negotiating with countries which have set different outlooks on life and different interests, such as the Communist block.

The Commission wholly agrees that our diplomats must be highly skilled in negotiations so they can effectively represent the Nation's goals in pursuing peace even in the most difficult of circumstances. But we need not and ought not to limit our training or the research upon which it must be based to diplomatic officials and situations alone. Full involvement of the citizenry in civic matters is a fundamental American process. While the Soviet Union develops an elite cadre of negotiators, the United States develops negotiating skills throughout its people--as befits a democracy. Today's banker may become tomorrow's diplomat and a haberdasher may become President. To be true to our heritage and our interests, peacemaking research and its broad scale application should receive significant attention by the United States Academy of Peace.

THE EDUCATIONAL BASE FOR PEACE LEARNING

In the Commission's judgment, the research component of the field of peace learning is lively and full of ferment, and has already proven itself as an important source of valuable information and knowledge. The contribution of the Academy to this worldwide activity will be substantial and perhaps critical. The opportunity for American leadership and international cooperation in the field is clear and immediate.

The fact that the field has generated useful research approaches, is still developing, and is highly pertinent to policy considerations argues strongly for concerted national effort by the United States. Kenneth Boulding advised the Commission in Boulder:

> There is now a large literature in the field of conflict studies. This field has also established itself as an interdisciplinary program in the college curriculum of at least 80 colleges around the United Staes. Most of these programs are affiliated with the Consortium on Peace Research, Education, and Development (COPRED), an affiliate of the American Association for the Advancement of Science .... There is a vigorous and exciting group of scholars around the world coming from many different disciplines and many different commitments, some out of the peace movement, some out of the defense establishments, who are creating an increasingly significant and cumulative body of theoretical insights and, perhaps even more important, increasingly well organized data collections of practical knowledge in this field.

The basis for education in the field of peace learning is quite rich. It provides a firm foundation to meet the challenge Commission Chairman Spark Matsunaga sets for "rational Americans seeking to promote international peace." There is a critical mass of information; it has organization and is developing rapidly; and seminal studies exist and are being periodically created. There is an extensive literature. The recent BIBLIOGRAPHY ON WORLD CONFLICT AND PEACE: SECOND EDITION contains over 1,000 entries, most published since 1960, and separate lists of 31 "collections, annuals, or series" and 83 periodicals. A search of the Library of Congress' computerized files for publications in English under the general heading "peace" revealed 616 entries since 1960. These texts, of course, are amplified by relevant works from virtually all disciplines which implicity if not explicitly bear upon questions of peace.

The field of peace learning has not, however, settled on a standard textbook, an absence which Kenneth Boulding attributes to there not yet being "a single, universally recognized, internally coherent body of theory." But while the field awaits textbook consolidation--an event the Commission believes will be hastened by the work of the United States Academy of Peace--there is no dearth of basic and, in some cases, classic texts based on firm theoretical and methodological foundations. The Commission suggests that the following would be likely to be part of any shelf:

Angell, PEACE ON THE MARCH

Bermant and others, THE ETHICS OF SOCIAL INTERVENTION

Boserup and Mack, WAR WITHOUT WEAPONS

K. Boulding, CONFLICT AND DEFENSE and STABLE PEACE

Burton, CONFLICT AND COMMUNICATION and DEVIANCE, TERRORISM AND WAR

Charney, STRATEGIES AGAINST VIOLENCE

Curle, MAKING PEACE

Dedring, RECENT ADVANCES IN PEACE AND CONFLICT RESEARCH

Deutsch, THE RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT

Etzioni and Wenglinsky, WAR AND ITS PREVENTION

Falk, A STUDY OF FUTURE WORLDS

Fisher, INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT FOR BEGINNERS and POINTS OF CHOICE

Galtung, THE TRUE WORLDS

Haas and others, THE RESOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

Kelman, INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOR

Kriesberg, THE SOCIOLOGY OF SOCIAL CONFLICTS and SOCIAL PROCESSES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Lentz, TOWARDS A SCIENCE OF PEACE

A. Myrdal, THE GAME OF DISARMAMENT

North and others, CONTENT ANALYSIS: A HANDBOOK WITH APPLICATIONS FOR THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL CRISES

Nye and Keohane, TRANSNATIONAL RELATIONS AND WORLD POLITICS

Randle, THE ORIGINS OF PEACE

Rapaport, FIGHTS, GAMES AND DEBATES

Richardson, ARMS AND INSECURITY and STATISTICS OF DEADLY QUARRELS

Russett, PEACE, WAR, AND NUMBERS

Schelling, THE STRATEGY OF CONFLICT

Sharp, THE POLITICS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION and SOCIAL POWER AND POLITICAL FREEDOM

Singer and others, EXPLAINING WAR, THE CORRELATES OF WAR I, and THE CORRELATES OF WAR II

Wehr, CONFLICT REGULATION

Wright, A STUDY OF WAR

Although "peace studies" or "peace science" course offerings may vary with the disciplinary background a teacher brings, three special characteristics refine the eclectic nature of the field of peace learning. First, there is a clear effort to integrate disciplines, although cooperative scholarship is not yet as well-developed in the field as it should be. Books of readings drawing from many disciplines are more common than direct interdisciplinary collaboration. In the classroom, economics, psychology, comparative law, peace history, philosophy, and methodological analysis may be used to illuminate such works as Kissinger's NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND FOREIGN POLICY and Thucydides' THE PELOPPONESIAN WARS.

Second, questions of ethics and values are central, not peripheral, to peace inquiries. St.

Augustine's "just war" analysis in CITY OF GOD, Solzhenitsyn's tracing the human spirit and Russian tradition through THE GULAG ARCHIPELAGO, and Arendt reflecting ON VIOLENCE touch basic chords in the field of peace learning, as does Ramsey Clark's crisp statement to the Commission in New York that "the greatest enemy of freedom is violence and war." Reporting the views of the panel on "Ethical Dilemmas in Peacekeeping" at the New York public seminar, Dr. Mieczyslaw Maneli told the Commission:

> We live in a world where ethical values are important for the mere preservation of our democracy and peace. Whatever the temporary setbacks, and whatever our opinion of American foreign policy may be, America still remains the fortress of democracy and generally acknowledged values. Therefore, we should not be shy in stressing that we, and not the despotic propagandists, are the authentic representatives of the sacred values of peace and morality for all mankind.
>
> In a period when our society is endangered by various forms of antidemocratic tendencies, political, economic, and military affairs are so interwoven that a neglect of moral values is seriously harmful for our international interests.... It would be unreasonable to resign from the pursuit of moral values because, in the final analysis, it would be harmful to the interests of America, the free world, and for the people everywhere who are fighting for their political liberties....
>
> There was virtually a general con-

> sensus that we should not define [peace] as the mere absence of war. We should not simply interpret it as a state of security and stability. True peace must be connected with the realization of democratic principles all over the world.... We must still remember that, according to the traditions of Americans, ... our supreme value is not simply life, but life in freedom.

Practicality is the third identifying characteristic of the field of peace learning. Research, education, and training are directly concerned with application. This emphasis upon usefulness is a logical consequence of concern with ethics and values, and the Commission emphasizes that such a progression is not equivalent to ideology or indoctrination: basic questions of individual and societal life and death are no more illuminated by rhetoric and moralizing than are other fundamental aspects of America's heritage. Writing to the Commission on the queston of applicability, Professor Ralph M. Goldman stated:

> Peace studies and conflict research are pointless, however, if they are without practical application in the real world. This real world is often unfriendly, unsafe, and unskilled in the management of its serious human disagreements. The deterrence of violence, the mediation of disagreements, the assurance of personal and national physical safety, the moderation of injustice and anger, the promotion of creative competition--these are real world problems that require more than good intentions and brotherly love. Such worldly problems require the highest order of

> human knowledge, talent, skills, and dedication.

The Commission believes the dedication to develop and use the field of peace learning is deeply supported by the American people. Its articulation can come as the United States Academy of Peace develops "the highest order of human knowledge, talent, [and] skills" directed to issues central to our well-being as a nation. The Commission concludes that:

> *THE UNITED STATES ACADEMY OF PEACE WILL AMPLIFY THE FIELD OF PEACE LEARNING AND EXTEND PEACEMAKING EXPERTISE BY FOCUSING NATIONAL ATTENTION ON PEACE RESEARCH, EDUCATION, AND TRAINING.*

TO EXTEND AMERICAN CONFLICT RESOLUTION EXPERIENCES

A number of factors, both historic and pertaining to the Commission itself, made it crucial that the Commission consider relationships between domestic--that is, national, regional, and community--conflict resolution and the resolution of international disputes in furtherance of international peace. Historically, Americans were relatively isolated internationally until World War II established the United States as a major world power, and the United States has had no continuous national tradition of involvement in other societies like that of the European colonial powers. While immigration brought to this land new ideas and cultures, the drive to become "American" transformed them. In large measure, then, Americans have taken their ways of doing things abroad and have shown substantial skill in responding to international challenges and foreign cultures, as demonstrated in ambassadorial talents from Benjamin Franklin on and in the overseas activities of educators, missionaries, artists, journalists, and corporations.

The Commission's legislative mandate directed it to "the goal of promoting peace" and the "peaceful resolution of conflict between nations ... in the area of international relations." Still, the title of the Commission retained the phrase "conflict resolution," and some Commissioners had more extensive work in intranational conflicts than in international affairs. So both the history of our Nation and the facts surrounding creation of the Commission made it natural that the relevance of national conflict resolution experience to international conflicts be prominent in the Commission's investigations.

It is in the nature of commission processes for issues that begin as positions or special interests to modify and develop complexity, for consensus and shared views to emerge. So it was with this Commission. The common focus Commissioners reached is symbolized in the name agreed upon for the Academy: the United States Academy of Peace. There were suggestions that "peace and conflict resolution" or "peace and justice" be adopted, to ensure the word "peace" not be misapprehended. The Commission decided that "Peace" itself, without modification to emphasize either process or substance, should be prominent; that "United States" would carry the national stature and American values to be reflected in the Academy; and that "Academy" would encompass the educational directive for the new national institution.

Conflict resolution remained a principal interest of the Commission for the Academy, although the phrase took on its own ambiguities. First, while "conflict resolution" avoids the manipulative sense of "conflict management" and "conflict regulation," it could imply that all conflicts can and should be resolved, mitigated, or terminated. The Commission has reported clearly that it holds some conflicts to be necessary and healthy. They may not be open to settlement, and conclusion may be neither warranted nor appropriate to the stage of the dispute. Parties to a conflict may not have solidified their interests internally so they can see their way to resolution. And if interests are clear and involve fundamental moral or national values, conflict may be important and resolution inappropriate if it requires some measure of adjustment by affected parties.

There are times when compromise is wrong. The question then becomes whether to engage in conflict and, if so, how to wage it without violence or serious harm and destruction. Along similar lines, Lowell Livezey of the World Without War Council wrote to the Commission that a significant question is

> ... the exercise of national power by nonviolent, non-military and creative means; not with the withdrawal from power, and not primarily with issues in which the exercise of national power is unimportant. It may be that peace is in conflict with conflict resolution. That is, peace (in the sense of the prevention of international violence) can only be achieved when countries can pursue--and even start--conflicts without resorting to violence. If the Academy is primarily concerned with how to resolve conflicts, it will be doomed to the margins of public life. Conflict resolution is not and will not become a central goal of this or any other country. But the exercise of power is. So I think the Academy should see itself as a partner of other national institutions and agencies in that it should seek to enhance national strength and advance national in-

> terests. But its speciality would be nonviolent and creative means. Sometimes, this would involve the resolution of conflict; sometimes the vigorous engagement of it.

The difficulty, of course, is identifying those situations that require conflict, for oneself as well as in others' eyes, and then devising proper ways to engage in such conflict, a dilemma which may be particularly strenuous in international situations where legal avenues may be weak and uncertain or even nonexistent. Second, "conflict resolution" carries intranational--national, regional, and community--connotations. It raises the question of transferability: to what extent can we rely upon what we know from dealing among ourselves when facing international conflicts, and where should we be cautious?

The Commission heard a great deal of testimony about our national ways of dealing with conflict. They ranged from the most local to the national as well as the international. Although this report already has noted a number of examples, the following will illustrate both the extent of what the Commission heard and the extraordinary resources we have to draw upon as Americans. In Atlanta, Coretta Scott King stated:

> We have in this country a remarkable reservoir of experienced and talented individuals highly trained in the nuts and bolts of conflict resolution. They can be found among the many veterans of the civil rights movement, in union halls, on the campuses and in the schools, in dozens of peace and women's groups and mental health clinics and community-based organizations--virtually everywhere that people come into conflict. Despite their impressive skills and exper-

> tise, they do not fit the traditional definition of an elite, because for the most part, they are underpaid, self-educated, and distinguished primarily by the sense of social responsibility and willingness to endure hardship and suffering for the cause of peace.

Sheriff Thomas Gilmore of Greene County, Alabama, provided the Commission in Atlanta with a specific instance of unsung local peacemaking:

> There were a couple of middle-aged women who lived ... near each other. Their land--they [each] had a small plot of land--joined each other. At some point when one of their daughters came to visit, there was a misunderstanding as to where the land line lay. And because of this an argument ensued, much harsh talk was done, and eventually the guns were displayed; and of course then it's time to call us.
>
> The first thing I noticed in that setting is that both women had gotten to the point where they felt the other was taking her belongings from her. We brought them together in the middle of the road, the middle of the day, at high noon, and while we did not have a prayer meeting, we had much conversation. We allowed one to talk while the other listened, and the other talked then after, while the other listened. We found as they talked and got it out of their systems that they had fewer frowns on their faces and, after we provided certain information to them as to how

> they could solve their problem by getting someone experienced in surveying land to decide where the land line was, they agreed with us.
>
> I found in that particular setting that sometimes people do not have enough information to solve their problems and we can provide, we can train, we can make available to the smallest hamlet, technicians who are able to say to people, "No, that isn't the way that you solve your problem. This is the way you solve your problem." It is our business to give peace a chance.

More formal instances of the use of mediation were drawn to the Commission's attention, with the suggestion they may hold lessons for the conduct of international disputes. The Commission learned that Washington Governor Daniel Evans used mediators to get things back on track in a number of situations that pitted individuals and community groups against business and government interests. Among them were disputes which were successfully resolved that involved building a dam in the Snohomish Basin of the Snoqualmie River and the location and completion of Interstate 90 into Seattle from the east side of Lake Washington, requiring construction of three bridges and one tunnel. In conjunction with the Chicago Federal Regional Council, the Urban Affairs Program of the Charles F. Kettering Foundation has developed the Negotiated Investment Strategy. James Kunde of the Kettering Foundation described this effort to the Commission in Washington as one using mediators to reduce future causes of conflict by integrating urban policy objectives of federal, state, regional, and local governments as well as the interests of communities and the private sector. Commissioner William Lincoln helped design the project, which is being implemented in St. Paul, Minnesota, Columbus, Ohio, and Gary, Indiana where Commission Vice Chairman James Laue serves as mediator.

These efforts, and many others, may be instructive for international conflicts. Professor Rudolph J. Rummel pointed out in Hawaii that conflict resolution processes, concepts, and conditions share similarities at community, national, and international levels. Robert Lamb from the Community Relations Service stated in Portland that there are a number of skills pertinent to all levels of conflict: ability to organize and strategize, intra- and intergroup dynamics, intervention techniques, communication skills, defining, assessing, and clarifying positions and interests, setting agendas and priorities, knowledge and use of resources, and securing agreements that are just, acceptable, and prevent the recurrence of conflict. Mrs. King suggested personal aspects to meeting violence at any level and provided pointed examples:

> Although there is much to be learned about the process of peacemaking, the body of knowledge and expertise that has been developed can be applied to challenge community, national, and international violence with equal effectiveness. This is because the dynamics of violence at these three levels differ in degree more than anything else. A personal commitment to peaceful conflict resolution on the part of the disputants is the essential pre-requisite at every level. In a very real sense, for example, the marriage counselor and the international mediator acknowledge many common principles and employ similar techniques....
>
> Imagine that 10 or 20 persons

> trained in nonviolent peacemaking ... returned to Afghanistan and then created a massive nonviolent movement which recruited significant numbers of laborers, farmers, and students. Would the Russians have risked an invasion in the face of a well-organized opposition? Even if they had, imagine their difficulty in sustaining an occupation of Afghanistan. If this seems farfetched, consider the experience of the Soviets in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and 1969. As Dr. Gene Sharp has pointed out, it took the Soviets eight months to defeat the nonviolent campaign of the Czechoslovakian people, a campaign which was improvised without the benefit of trained nonviolent leadership. What would have happened if the protesters had been prepared and trained?

> ... People say, look at the civil rights movement, but it doesn't work, it can't work with governments; they tell you that. But I maintain the reason we haven't had more violence and destruction in South Africa is because there has been a nonviolent movement at work in South Africa and the seeds were planted by Gandhi when he first went to Africa many years before he went to India and they were further inspired by Martin Luther King, Jr.

Also in Atlanta, Andrew Young suggested that commonalities among different levels of conflict resolution should be looked at closely. Juries, for example, could be studied as

> ... a model of small group decisionmaking that would be relevant to other kinds of small group situations. But that is based on the premise that it is not political or ideological differences that people basically have in conflict. It is essentially human differences which are just as significant, maybe sometimes even more significant.

Speaking of his domestic and international experiences, Ambassador Young illustrated a way of looking at conflicts and approaching them that permits bridges between various levels:

> I contend that human conflict is human conflict, and it doesn't make a great deal of difference whether it's a family conflict, a labor-management conflict, a race conflict, or an international conflict. It's still human conflict. There are certain basic things that happen, like in a series of labor negotiations here in Atlanta.... I was chairman of the Community Relations Commission. I learned you couldn't stop on schedule.... Since there was such a high level of frustration on both sides of the table, you almost had to let people get that out, no matter how long it took. It turned out that if people were allowed to freely express their differences and somebody could guide it, there's a moment when people have gotten it all off their chests. If they are tired, they're accessible to a solution.... Another point is that people eating together while they're arguing mellow a bit.

There are things you can learn from one situation to the next, and everybody doesn't have to learn it for themselves....

I remember when we had our first meeting with the Patriotic Front [in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia].... It was just like all the people we have been negotiating with here [in Atlanta]. It was really like the same folk with the same line and the same roles being played in negotiations in spite of the fact that there were totally different situations and totally different cultures. I suspect that I do not see a great deal of differences in the roles played by certain factions in the Patriotic Front and the roles played by certain factions in the PLO, for instance.

Now, everybody would say, well, one is Africa and one is the Middle East. It is a totally different situation. That is true, but in any negotiation, somebody will take the hard line and state the least compromising position and stick to it. And there will be others who will play the role in between of trying to find the compromise areas .... Everybody would have a role .... Now, I see that same kind of pattern going on, whether consciously or unconsciously, in almost every situation. The hardest part of a negotiation is doing a successful analysis of the various roles being played by the people on the opposite side of the table so you can help build bridges between the two sides....

> When we again went to meet with the Patriotic Front, the State Department thought I was crazy because they always stay off by themselves. When it's nine o'clock in the morning and negotiations start, they go sit down, very tense and tight at the table. I insisted that our delegation stay at the same hotel as the people with whom we were negotiating. We really had all our arguments that night before in the bar in a very informal setting, over beer, so by the time we got there the next morning, we essentially had a feel for the people, and we had a feel for the situation in which we were negotiating.

From the labor-management conflict resolution profession, two witnesses urged applicability of domestic experience to the international level. In New York City, Robert Coulson of the American Arbitration Association suggested that labor arbitration, as uniquely developed in the United States, could be useful in other nations. More generally on the transferability of skills, he stated:

> We've learned that many of these skills are universal skills. And if you can learn to be a good negotiator in one field, you can probably use it to your advantage and the advantage of the movement you represent in some other field. They are transferable. An experienced negotiator can negotiate in many different fields and for many different points of view.

Wayne Horvitz of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service reflected in Washington on

> ... one of the things that surprises me: a reporter once asked me during the Camp David negotiations, why we weren't up there. And I said, "Well, they mind their business and I mind mine." And it is too bad, I think, that the State Department and we don't have some kind of interchange. We know some things that maybe they don't know and they sure know a lot of things that we don't know. We do know one thing: we know something about conflict resolution....
>
> Now, as to transferability, we think that within some limits--the limits largely being ones of knowledge--that the kinds of techniques and the kinds of approaches that we use in the labor-management field are transferable.

From the Commission's public activities, it can report that:

> *THE COMMISSION FINDS WIDESPREAD BELIEF THAT THE CORE PRINCIPLES AND TECHNIQUES OF PEACEMAKING AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION USED WITHIN THE UNITED STATES HAVE PROVEN UTILITY IN DEALING WITH INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS.*

The Commission emphasizes that the evidence supporting this finding requires fuller development, and that there is serious question about the wisdom of direct analogy between the personal or community level and the international. There was concern, for instance, that lessons could mislead, particularly in regard to peace as absence of war issues. In Hawaii, for example, Professor William Boyer advised that "blurring together domestic and international violence without recognition of the special features of structural anarchy in the international system will likely ground the Academy in weak theory and undermine its potential contribution," particularly in averting "large scale atomic war." And in Washington, Edward Snyder, Executive Secretary of the Friends Committee on National Legislation, testified that in considering

> ... existing institutions for resolving conflicts, I draw a sharp distinction between the international arena and the national and community levels. I see a need for conflict resolution at all of these levels, but the international level is of a completely different order of magnitude. It is the frontier area where major progress must be made if civilization is to survive on this planet....
>
> There is a stark contrast between the various fruitful programs now under way at national and community levels and the barren international scene. I believe the primary reason is the fundamentally different context. Conflict resolution inside a nation is set within a system of law and order.... Among nations no such system exists.... In large parts of the international arena especially in the dispute-settlement/war-making field we have in the final analysis barely disguised anarchy.... [There is a] desperate need to increase the forces for peace and conflict resolution at the international level.

While the Commission joins in cautioning against quick application of domestic experience to international conflict, it does believe that analogies can be instructive once structural, cultural, and perceptual variations are taken into account. These areas merit substantial research attention. This is especially so because lines between domestic and international conflict increasingly are breaking down. In Boston, both Herbert Kelman and John Burton stressed "the increasing continuity between domestic and foreign policy." In Washington, Commissioner Elise Boulding pointed out that the testimony the Commission received on the interrelationships between intranational and international levels of dispute clearly suggest that the Academy should take account of the interface between international and intranational processes in order to deal adequately with international conflicts.

In New York City, Dr. Steven Cohen addressed the Commission on the need to understand the internal configurations of any party to conflict and the increasingly common presence of additional actors in international disputes:

> Societies become involved [in international conflict] not only at the level of political leadership, but at the level of differences within each group and at the attempt to draw other states into the conflict. If we look, for example, at the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, we can see that [it] ... has drawn wider and wider elements of the international system into it....
>
> It is not only at the level of the international system that these conflicts have become problematic. They have involved deep divisions within each group; there are great problems within Israeli society and

> Palestinian society about the ways of resolving these conflicts. These conflicts tend to break down the distinction between domestic and international conflict. It is important that there be an institution not afraid to make a break in our conceptual thinking about the distinction between national and international conflict.

It is clear to the Commission that our national conflict resolution experiences have importance to our activities internationally. It is equally clear that the ways other societies address their internal conflicts can tell us much about them and about how we might relate to their people. We may profit from the extent others understand our ways no less than we will by understanding theirs.

There is an additional reason that domestic conflict resolution is important to Americans considering the establishment of a new national institution. The primary concern of the Academy is international peace, and the Academy is structured to serve and engage Americans from all walks of life. These people--recipients of information from the field, trainees, students, researchers, instructors, and faculty from government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations--will, in the main, bring to peace issues greater experience domestically than internationally, even if they have substantial international backgrounds. Because one premise of the Academy is that the Nation's interest in international peace ought not to be placed solely in the hands of a few competent government technicians (as Richard Pipes describes the Soviet negotiator cadre) who may be isolated from society as a whole, it is important that the Academy develop more knowledge about the utility and limitations of the ways Americans respond to international conflicts out of a rich domestic heritage. It is for these reasons that the Commission concludes:

THE UNITED STATES ACADEMY OF PEACE SHOULD USE BOTH INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL PEACEMAKING AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION EXPERIENCES IN DESIGNING ITS EDUCATION AND TRAINING AND INFORMATION SERVICES PROGRAMS AND SHOULD GIVE PRIORITY TO RESEARCH ON CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN PEACE AND CONFLICT PROCESSES.

VII

The United States Academy of Peace

INTRODUCTION: WHAT IT IS AND IS NOT

The Commission sees the United States Academy of Peace as a visible symbol of the Nation's constant and historic purpose of promoting peace among nations. The Academy will help to re-establish the prominence of United States leadership in international peace. It will address practical issues of the twin goals of national security and international peace through research, education and training, and information services. It will be a vigorous national institution that serves people in government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations. It will be an important instrument for cooperative efforts in peace learning among our people and people from other nations who, like us, are repelled by the incidence of violence and war and the erosion of freedom. As the Peace Corps prompted other nations into similar ventures, the Academy, too, may stimulate an international renaissance in peace learning by refocusing worldwide attention on the causes of war and the elements of peace. The Academy will be a prominent, independent, federally-created and -funded institution that invites scrutiny in the best American traditions of inquiry and pragmatism, shorn of ideological blemish. It will help to reverse the cynicism about our National effort to improve international relations through peaceful means.

To ensure the attainment of these goals, the Commission has placed important limitations upon its proposed Academy. Commissioner William Lincoln reflected upon the debates and suggestions the Commission heard from around the country in summarizing these boundaries. The Academy, he stated, is:

> Not an Intervention Agency: While the Academy may study on-going crises and disputes, neither as an institution nor through its personnel should it intervene directly or indirectly in such conflicts. Doing so would contradict its legislative mandate as an educational entity and would risk intrusion upon the proper activities of government's operational agencies as well as those of private citizens and organizations.
>
> Not a National Policy-Setting Agency: Other than establishing its own policies, the Academy should not participate in policy decisions of any federal or nonfederal body. The Academy may undertake studies on policy-relevant peace issues of concern to federal agencies, but its distance from operations along with the American tradition of academic freedom will shield its inquiries from result-directed influence.
>
> Not an Adversary to the Military or an Alternative to the Military Academies and War Colleges: As a government-created, civilian institution dedicated to openness and

mutuality, the Academy may have among its students persons from the Department of Defense and the military academies and war colleges as well as from the Department of State, the Foreign Service Institute, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and private schools of diplomacy.

Not a Vehicle for a New Elite: The Academy will serve persons from all sectors of American life and their participation in Academy activities will benefit vocational and avocational interests. The Commission is firm that peacemaking knowledge and skills derived through the Academy ought not be limited to a few on the Nation's firing line or become prerequisite to participation in government, private enterprise, or voluntary association peace activities.

TO APPLY PEACEMAKING KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS

The Commission heard many views on the causes of international strife and possible responses we as individuals and as a nation might take toward international conflict and the threat of war. The Commission heard repeated demands that the Nation's peace heritage and capacities be focused on the American people's long-standing quest for international peace. No one who spoke or wrote to the Commission suggested that our attention to peace learning and peacemaking has been satisfactory. All agreed that time is short and peril intensive. Drawing upon an extensive record and its own evaluations, *THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ABSENCE OF A COORDINATED NATIONAL COMMITMENT TO RESEARCH, EDUCATION AND TRAINING, AND INFORMATION SERVICES FROM THE FIELD OF PEACE LEARNING HAS CAUSED NEGLECT OF PEACEMAKING KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE NATION'S EFFECTIVENESS IN POLICYMAKING AND POLICY IMPLEMENTATION IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, CONFLICTS, AND WAR.*

Commissioner John Dellenback stated his views, which are expressive of others':

> I don't think there is any more important issue that this Nation and the world is facing at this moment, aside from the decisions we make on matters of faith and theology, than the question of world peace; and, if you will, those two link together.... I want to say as strongly as I can that the time is growing late. The United States Academy of Peace will not be a panacea to the conflict problems of the world, but it is highly appropriate that the United States do whatever it can to epitomize our commitment to doing everything we can to reach for peace in the world.

Regardless of political leanings and from the vantage points of government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations, there was consensus among all who took part in the Commission's work that the Nation must bend every effort to promote a more peaceful world and that renewed dedication is crucial. Reviewing the Commission's public activities, Commissioner John Dunfey stated: "If you sat through the hearings, you would have to agree that there's a sense out there--and it runs to the heart line of the country--that there is a great need for America to take the lead." These views were summarized by Commission Chairman Spark Matsunaga:

> There is a great feeling of need for an academy of peace or some national institution of peace which could not only serve as a symbol of the leadership which this great Nation of ours has played in the past, but also as a practical tool toward maintaining, and some might say regaining, the leadership in the area of peace that this country at one time enjoyed and, in my mind, still enjoys. We must firmly establish our Nation as one which leads all others in the search for peace--for the security of all peoples, including our own.

The Commission heard from relatively few witnesses who concluded their testimony in opposition to the federal involvement in the field of peace learning. Some witnesses said a national peace academy would be counterproductive to the Nation's goal of promoting international peace. Others based their opposition on skepticism about the purposes and capabilities of the federal government. Still others suggested the private sector alone should do the job, stating that federal programs, particularly in research and education, reach for the lowest common denominator and impede quality. The Commission was not persuaded by their arguments.

While the Commission strongly urges greater private involvement in this critical area, it believes it unrealistic to expect private sector resources to be mobilized adequately without federal leadership. Increased private investment in peace learning requires the stimulation of focused federal attention. Without assurance that federal policymakers and policy implementers desire and will use the field's peacemaking knowledge and skills, the private sector will hesitate to make the area one of priority. The fate of "cottage industry" research in arms control and disarmament tells that lesson. Federal stewardship in energizing the field of peace learning on behalf of the Nation's interest in international peace is surely appropriate and, as a practical matter, it is necessary.

The demand for peacemaking knowledge and skill from government personnel is clear. Members of Congress and persons from the Departments of Defense and State, among others, repeatedly urged this. What is needed, then, is clear demonstration through use and investment that key leadership, in and out of government, acknowledges the value and potency of the resources offered by the field of peace learning. The Commission does not find such neglect conscious or purposeful. Rather, it traces neglect, particularly in government, back to traditional modes of education and learning that form the intellectual parameters within which policy is hammered out daily. Conceptual ways of thinking that are not integrated into higher education rarely carry over into either policy formulation or behavior in policy implementation.

Dr. Philip Jacob in Hawaii told the Commission: "I would like to suggest very strongly that the professional schools of diplomacy have by no means touched the basic questions of how to use ... international institutions effectively for peacemaking." Theodore L. Eliot, Jr., Dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, however, urged "that the federal government ... become involved in ensuring the continued financial health of the existing private institutions which are involved in peace and conflict resolution," but opposed the academy concept because "existing private institutions are doing the job." The Commission suggests that Dean Eliot's concept of a peace academy differs from the Commission's concept, and that the

United States Academy of Peace as conceived by the Commission will measurably improve the quality of education and training at the Fletcher School and other graduate schools of international affairs. Private institutions are not doing the full job, nor would federal money, without the focus provided by the Academy, change that fact.

The Commission determined that peace learning is not adequately prominent in the curricula of general higher education or of the military service academies and graduate programs of specialized schools of diplomacy. In part, this is because departmental barriers frustrate multi- and interdisciplinary inquiries about peace and because there is traditional reluctance, despite occasional use of case studies, to bring fine-tuned application of peace and conflict resolution knowledge into the classroom. Commissioner Dan Glickman suggested evidence for this appraisal:

> I was impressed with what I consider to be a good, balanced feeling by people in the military that there does need to be some institutional scheme to train people to engage in this kind of thought process.... We have heard from Generals and we heard from people in the military academies that a peace academy would be a useful tie.

More broadly, Commissioner Elise Boulding stated: "I see within our own agencies, including the military academies and the schools of diplomacy, the Foreign Service Institute, the State Department itself, collaborators for something which will be mutually useful to everybody."

In addition to the service needs the Academy will meet, there is substantial value from concentrating resources on the problems addressed by the field of peace learning. Stanley R. Keil noted in a letter to the Commission:

> ... a peace academy would have benefits considerably larger than a similar investment in expanding conflict resolution programs in existing institutions. A systems specialist would label these benefits "synergy," while an economist would label them economies of scale and agglomeration. These are the benefits of the interaction of minds working on the same set of problems, making the effectiveness of the whole much greater than the sum of its parts.

The infusion required to overcome long-standing neglect of the field of peace learning by government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations including institutions of higher education can come, the Commission believes, from a focused investment that represents a true and visible federal commitment.

> *THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ABSENCE OF A COORDINATED NATIONAL COMMITMENT TO RESEARCH, EDUCATION AND TRAINING, AND INFORMATION SERVICES FROM THE FIELD OF PEACE LEARNING HAS CAUSED NEGLECT OF PEACEMAKING KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE NATION'S EFFECTIVENESS IN POLICYMAKING AND POLICY IMPLEMENTATION IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, CONFLICTS AND WAR.*

TO DESIGN THE UNITED STATES ACADEMY OF PEACE

The Commission's design for the Academy is set forth in Appendix A: Draft Legislation for the

United States Academy of Peace. This report as a whole supports both the legislation's findings and purposes and its structural design and programmatic emphases. The Commission underscores that, while it received substantial testimony and spent long hours in discussion itself, often in great detail, on what the Academy should look like, the proposed legislation leaves important flexibility to the Academy's Board of Directors. The Commission believes it has established the need, the demand, and the potential contribution to world peace of the Academy, as well as the legitimacy of such federal action.

> *THE COMMISSION FINDS BROAD PUBLIC AND GOVERNMENT INTEREST IN A FEDERAL INSTITUTION DEVOTED TO THIS NATION'S PEACEMAKING CAPACITIES THAT WOULD HAVE COMPLEMENTARY PROGRAMS OF RESEARCH, EDUCATION AND TRAINING, AND INFORMATION SERVICES; WOULD SERVE PEOPLE IN AND OUT OF GOVERNMENT; AND WOULD BE SHELTERED FROM UNDUE GOVERNMENT OR PRIVATE DOMINATION.*

A BALANCED INSTITUTION

The Commission believes that its design for the Academy reflects the best balance to promote the national interest in peace among nations. It neither emphasizes nor excludes service to federal agencies. It recognizes the important contribution to international peace from private enterprise and voluntary associations. And it does not make the Academy all things for all purposes or people; the Academy is principally an institution for learning. The Commission has concluded, therefore, that

> *THE UNITED STATES ACADEMY OF PEACE*

SHOULD DEVELOP PROGRAMS FOR PEACE RESEARCH, EDUCATION AND TRAINING, AND INFORMATION SERVICES WHICH INCLUDE CENTRALIZED AND OUTREACH CAPACITIES; SHOULD BE AN INDEPENDENT, NONPROFIT, FEDERALLY CHARTERED CORPORATION; AND SHOULD NOT ENGAGE IN GOVERNMENT OR NONGOVERNMENT POLICYMAKING OR IN ACTIVE DISPUTE RESOLUTION.

The Commission now offers a brief review of the design and components that comprise the Academy, while noting that further explanation is found in the body of this report and in Appendix A.

AN INDEPENDENT NONPROFIT CORPORATION

The Academy should be an independent, nonprofit corporation established by the federal government. Not only is federal investment necessary to stimulate both increased policy use in government and private attention to the field of peace learning, but a federal commitment, representing the commitment of the Nation, also offers concentration of resources and visibility. If peace learning programs were simply added to existing agencies, distinct identification and attention would suffer. Traditional federal means for assisting higher education--funds for students and institutions--would not alone develop that "critical mass" needed to situate the field of peace learning firmly in the Nation's peacemaking activities.

Independence means that the Academy's work will be accessible to all and that responsibility for successes as well as errors can be cleanly placed. Nonprofit corporate status bars the Academy from lobbying, an activity the Commission would find inappropriate to such an institution of learning, while permitting it to receive nonfederal funds in furtherance of its purposes.

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

A major issue among the public which supported establishing an academy and among Commissioners was how to insulate the institution from diverting and perhaps damaging policy demands while ensuring responsiveness to policy interests, particularly at the federal level. The Commission determined that federal creation of the Academy as a nonprofit institution with its own identity would partly answer those concerns, with the selection and composition of the Board of Directors, especially the initial Board, being the other critical ingredient. A variety of ways to compose a Board was reviewed, from the electoral system used by the National Academy of Sciences to designating seats for certain institutions, whether the Department of State or the AFL-CIO. These approaches were found to be too cumbersome, open to attack for exclusion as well as inclusion, and in the end, probably less sensitive to balanced and creative appointments than the political system.

The Commission recommends a 15-member Board to govern the Academy. Four members will come from Congress, two from each major political party from the Senate and the House of Representatives, thereby directly representing the interests of the citizenry through the Congress as well as the Congress as an institution. The President of the United States will nominate for Senate advice and consent the other eleven members, although the Academy is not an Executive Branch institution. The nominees must be persons outside federal service, which may include nonfederal public office holders, and no more than six may be members of any one political party. The combination of Senate scrutiny, party limitations, constituency interests which surely will be communicated to the President, and the President's interest in ensuring Academy success led the Commission to conclude that this relatively efficient way of completing the Board will secure both dedication and a diversity of views. Staggered terms for Board members, time limits on service, and later nominations selected from lists submitted to the President by the Board will maintain breadth while developing institutional tradition. Not least, the Commission concluded that a Board composed of Members of Congress and Presidential appointees promised the order of seriousness of purpose and prominence the Academy merits.

FUNCTIONS

The Academy has three functions which the Commission views as equally important and interrelated. Just as the field of peace learning requires multi- and interdisciplinary inquiries, a strength of the Academy derives from its capacity to use one area to develop another. The Academy's three functions are research, education and training, and information services. Training, for instance, will improve as research provides ideas and evaluations, as education offers more sophisticated intellectual content, and as information services cull an increasingly broad base of knowledge from American and foreign sources. Education, similarly, will profit from the conceptual insights of research, the pragmatic focus of training, and the comparative knowledge available from information services. And research and information services each must address the communication questions raised within the two other companion functions. Like fine weaving, the three functions will complement each other. Were the Academy to slight any one, it would weaken the whole.

Research: Research will be undertaken at the Academy itself--through faculty, students, staff, visiting scholars, and residents at its Center for International Peace--and will be done at other institutions with Academy grant and contract support.

The strong emphasis at the Academy on research in the field of peace learning arises from the Commission's conclusion that the type of multi- and interdisciplinary research necessary to advance the field will not proceed adequately in the private sector as now constituted if there is no Academy. Higher education departmental and disciplinary lines are too strong and private consultant research too responsive to policy prejudgment. With a centralized research capability employing persons from many disciplines, the Academy can demonstrate this special mode of scholarship through example and draw from that experience to help design and evaluate outside research done under grant or contract.

The legislation authorizes the Academy to undertake studies at the request of federal agencies or departments, so long as they are within the Academy's purposes, competence, resources, and independence. Whether the issue is of primary interest to government or to others--for example, linkage negotiation, mediation through United Nations offices, curriculum design on peacemaking in military service academies, techniques to institute and enforce a cease-fire, methodology for useful case studies on peace, or the optimum ways to present peace learning information to policymakers--research in peace learning within the Academy's framework will avoid academic isolation and thereby gain in insight and utility.

Education and training: Education and training programs of the Academy will be at the graduate and post-graduate levels, although the Academy may support undergraduate peace studies curricula in existing institutions, perhaps through a model like the Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education (FIPSE). The Commission anticipates that the Academy will develop a variety of offerings, both short- and long-term. Short courses directed to persons in mid-career, for example, might see Foreign Service and Coast Guard officers join employees of Polaroid, General Motors, the

Aspen Institute, the National Council of Churches, The Los Angeles Times, and the City of Detroit for a month-long program on negotiation, mediation, conciliation, and arbitration in international conflicts to be followed at eight month intervals by three two-week evaluation and application exercises. Special programs might be developed with and for persons, including non-Americans, involved directly and peripherally in arms control and disarmament and troop reduction talks. Conferences on special topics--negotiation and terrorism, cartel decisionmaking, major power mediation of disputes among smaller nations, or peace studies teaching, for example--could be convened.

Longer-term education programs will be offered to a select student body in residence. The Commission suggests that the number of such students, at least initially, be kept fairly small. Their courses and research would be directed primarily to degree credit. The Commission made no determination on whether the Academy itself should offer degrees, but provided authority for it if the Board so decides. The Commission strongly recommends cooperative relationships between the Academy and graduate schools of international affairs, for example, under which those students would receive credit in their home schools for Academy work. And it recommends further that undergraduate and graduate teaching faculty be invited to the Academy for sabbatical or leave of absence tours.

Information Services: The Commission foresees an active information services function within the Academy. Linking with the Nation's network of libraries, the Academy should develop bibliographies and abstracts which include foreign as well as American sources and unpublished documents of merit such as selected theses and dissertations. In addition to newsletters, pamphlets, and other brief forms to share information, the information services function eventually could include publication of scholarly journals, handbooks and other practical materials, and perhaps book-length manuscripts. Properly designed, the information services will further the "corporate memory" of the field of peace learning so as to make its literature and knowledge easily retrievable and useful.

Location

As ideas for the structure and purposes of the Academy developed, so did the question of location. The Commission determined that the Academy both must have that "critical mass" necessary for quality work on issues of peace and the mandate to reach to the far corners of the Nation. The Academy, then, ought not to be only a "bricks and mortar" institution along the lines of the military service academies or other colleges or "think tanks." Nor should it be simply an endowment with no central capacities other than administration. From Hawaii to Florida, from Oregon to New York, suggestions came in for a site for the Academy. The Commission felt, however, that to establish national and international visibility and to remain sensitive to the federal government including the Congress, the Academy should locate its central facilities and administrative offices within easy reach of Washington, D.C.

Although sites for the Academy could be physically separate--and precise locations are a matter for Board decision--the facilities near Washington, D.C., would have three components. First would be a central administrative office which would be responsible for the fiscal operations of the Academy, the Academy's information service programs, and the administration of grants and contracts for outreach and extension. Second would be the Center for International Peace, which the Commission envisions as comparable to the Smithsonian Institution's Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars, where leaders and scholars in international peace would be in residence for up to two years. And third would be the Academy's own research, education, and training facilities. The Commission was urged repeatedly to mandate creation of regional sites, perhaps affiliated with colleges and universities, for skill training, seminars and conferences, and research. The Academy's legislation contains authority to establish such subsidiary units, and the Commission recommends strongly that the Board consider the possibilities.

Funding

The Commission's recommendations on funding, were guided by federal budget considerations, the depth of need established, and the minimal requirements to launch a new institution with adequate backing. Although the Commission heard comparisons with military hardware (if a B-52 costs X millions of dollars, at least Y dollars should be invested in a peace academy) and estimates of savings from an academy due to conflicts resolved or waged without violence (an academy will pay dividends X times its cost), the Commission prefers to lock its funding recommendations into the merits of the Academy concept itself and the intense interest and hope it generated across the Nation.

The Commission recommends funding for two purposes. First is an initial capitalization fund of $15,000,000 for purchase of buildings and grounds to be available until spent. Second is administrative and programming funds: $6,000,000 for the first year to be available through the second year; $10,000,000 for the second year; $15,000,000 for the third year; and $20,000,000 for the fourth year.

In view of the critical need to serve the peace learning interests and peacemaking efforts of the Nation and people at work through government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations and of the immense potential benefits of the Academy, these sums are not large. If spent carefully and without waste, they will be sufficient for the Academy to plan and develop its programs and to establish its worth. It may be--and the Commission believes it will prove to be--that the Academy warrants substantially larger federal investment, but that, too, is an issue the Commission believes is best addressed by the Board of Directors and the Congress and the Executive branch.

There are three additional funding considerations which rest with the Board. First, the Academy is authorized to receive and expend nonfederal funds, which must be accounted for separately. The Commission hopes such funding will become important to the Academy's activities and strengthen the work of voluntary associations. Second, the Academy Board is authorized to create an endowment in support of Academy purposes. The endowment will be funded in two ways: through nonfederal monies and, at the Board's discretion, by placing in it any federal appropriations not expended during a fiscal year, with such use being reported to the Congress and the President. The endowment clearly looks some years into the future and may become another important vehicle for establishing the independence of the Academy. Finally, the Commission considered and rejected legislative language directing the Academy to use a certain percentage of its annual budget on extension and outreach. The Commission supports this principle, but prefers to leave it as a matter of Board discretion.

RELATIONSHIPS AND AWARDS

Two final aspects of the Academy need highlighting. First, the Academy is authorized to enter into formal and informal relationships with other institutions. While this power most likely will institutions. While this power most likely will be used with some caution, as the Academy is a federal creation, it may be necessary and useful, for example, to the Academy's participation in the research programs of international bodies such as the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute and of United Nations' bodies such as UNESCO, UNITAR, and the United Nations' University for Peace. Finally, the Academy is empowered to provide annually for the award of the United States Medal of Peace, to be presented in ceremony by the President of the United States, to one or more individuals or groups for exemplary contribution to international peace education, training, or research. The Commission believes that this Medal, as well as other awards the Academy may find desirable, will provide recognition to the field of peace learning and the principles of the United States which support its growth and use.

OTHER MODELS

In developing its design for the Academy, the Commission examined the mandates, funding, structures, and operations of over 40 institutions, most federal but some private and/or international. Having determined that reliance upon the private sector alone is impractical and that federal leadership is necessary and proper, the Commission considered whether the needs it had established could be met through increased funding of existing agencies along with modifications of their mandates. Could, for instance, either the Department of State, the National Science Foundation, or the National Endowment for the Humanities singly, together but each acting independently, or all joining under one umbrella provide the quality and breadth of research, education and training, and information services that would firmly situate the field of peace learning within the Nation's activities that promote international peace?

The Commission concluded that an operational agency inevitably would tend to give preference in its use of resources to its own needs and, to some degree at least, downgrade the needs of other branches of government as well as those of people and institutions outside of government. Facing bureaucratic and daily policy demands, it would be unlikely to pay sufficient objective attention to longer-term issues that are an important part of the field. A funding agency, on the other hand, might have excellent outreach abilities and could support important scholarship, but it would be unequipped to undertake certain critical work itself, including concentration and synthesis of work in the field of peace learning. In short, an operational agency would be too narrow and a funding agency too diffuse. A mixture of operational and funding agencies working together has superficial attractiveness, but the Commission concluded the agencies inevitably either would go their separate ways or would let programs falter from coordination difficulties. Even if those problems were overcome, peace learning most likely would take a back seat to the primary interests of those agencies and thus be denied the high visibility and use it merits.

The Commission then considered an institution modeled after the military service academies. Beyond the costs associated with such an undertaking, from accreditation to economies of scale to the time required to inspire a distinctive educational tradition, a military academy model would emphasize undergraduate education and training, rather than graduate-level work where the need is most intense. It would be too limited in the number of people it could serve, would have minimal extension capability, would risk duplicating peace programs at colleges and universities, and would not be able to offer its graduates the clear tracking into professional careers that military academies provide. Furthermore, it would most likely mirror the disciplinary alignments of traditional institutions of higher education, neglect tablish a strong information services program. Finally, as a symbol such an academy could be misconstrued as competitive rather than collegial with the military educational institutions, a circumstance the Commission feels strongly should be avoided.

THE MOST EFFICIENT AND PRODUCTIVE DESIGN

The Commission's analyses led it to conclude that a federally-created, nonprofit, independent institution would be best able to coordinate programs of research, education and training, and information services on issues of international peace and be visible through its own identity. The Academy is designed for a creative balance between its direct activities and outreach and extension programs that stimulate development and use of the field of peace learning across the Nation by persons in government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations. Because the Academy as proposed would not be distracted from its mandate by the need to make policy or intervene in disputes, by competition from other worthy programs, or by undergraduate demands, its officers will be free to focus its work to make it most useful and responsive to the needs of its broad-based constituency while managing its affairs in a cost-effective, productive fashion. It is the Commission's firm judgment, therefore, that

> *THE UNITED STATES ACADEMY OF PEACE PROPOSED BY THIS COMMISSION WILL PROVIDE THE NATION WITH A BALANCED AND COST-EFFECTIVE INSTITUTION THAT WILL MAKE THE FIELD OF PEACE LEARNING ACCESSIBLE AND USEFUL TO SCHOLARS, ANALYSTS, POLICYMAKERS, AND DECISIONMAKERS IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, CONFLICTS, AND WAR.*

VIII

Conclusion

The Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution presents its final report with confidence. The Commission looks forward to the establishment of the United States Academy of Peace as a living symbol and practical instrument for the Nation's dedication to international peace.

This report responds fully to the questions mandated to the Commission by the Congress and the President. The Commission found that the knowledge and skills developed by the field of peace learning remain fragmented and underused. The Commission also established that the field has scientifically testable theories and hypotheses, is devoted to pragmatism and application, is international in scope, and has critical importance to the Nation's goal of promoting peace among the nations and peoples of the world.

The Commission was heartened by the extent of international peace activities of persons from government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations. The Commission has proposed an Academy design that is efficient and responsive to the peace interests of the federal government, private and public institutions of higher education, and persons from many walks of life. The Academy will be accessible. Although the Academy will not have policy or intervention authority itself, it will situate the field of peace learning squarely in education and policy determinations and will extend the field's knowledge and skills to persons from all three sectors of the Nation.

As a visible, focused, national investment, the Academy will be organically American, based in the Nation's rich but unsung peace heritage. "To read de Toqueville and look at us today," Commission Vice Chairman James Laue noted, "one is astonished and really delighted at how we have built on what we have been and transmitted that sense of association and problem-solving across the generations, even though many of our ancestors came here long after he left our shores." As a contribution to the Nation and the world, the Academy will be a permanent beacon for those principles of peace that make America a cherished ideal.

No problems of our age surpass those of international peace, conflicts, and war. Throughout the Nation, the Commission heard deep concern, worry, and even outrage over the violence and threats of violence, particularly nuclear, that are part of our daily lives. The Commission also found a people proud of its peace heritage and determined to bring its full measure to bear upon these crucial issues of life and death, freedom and justice. When opportunity is clear and the need pressing for fusion between the worlds of learning and public affairs, this Nation responds: the Morrill Act created the land grant college system to transform and unify an expanding nation; the military service academies educate and train a needed sophisticated, professional officer corps; and the National Academy of Sciences informs the federal government on controversial scientific questions. The United States Academy of Peace comes from this tradition: a new institution to meet critical needs of the Nation as a whole.

Earlier in this report, the Commission discussed extension of national conflict resolution methods to international disputes. It made clear that the Academy's focus is international peace, but that the broad role of Americans internationally as well as the blurring of national and international lines make it imperative that the Academy address the question of transferability. The Commission reserved to these concluding pages a final thought on the relationship between international and national conflict resolution experience. It is this: primary attention to questions of international peace may bring important dividends to the United States as a society with its own conflicts. Many people who have been involved in international peace activities report new insights in their understanding of conflicts at all levels of society. Moreover, comparison with other societies and cultures--through such activities as international business, Peace Corps service, and refugee resettlement--offers fresh perspectives, refined sensitivities, and creative new approaches to problems we face within the Nation.

Finally, the Commission believes that we as a nation have an obligation, a sacred duty, to do what we can to gain control over elements of our destiny. We must, as we have in the past, provide standards and leadership to reduce the causes of war, to prevent violence and destruction, to secure freedom and justice, and to promote peace among nations. Americans never have been a passive people, content to sit back while events plunge on. The need for this Nation's stewardship of peace never has been clearer.

In his Preface to this report, Commission Chairman Spark Matsunaga states: "If peace is a risk, never won for sure but held for the day, then we must know its ways and means surely today and tomorrow." To today's youth and to generations yet to be born, the United States Academy of Peace represents a promise that the Nation will take that risk. The wise person approaches international peace with no less trepidation than war, and the Commission is clear that the Academy is not the only institution for the pursuit of peace. As a nation, we are active on many fronts; the Academy will strengthen those peace efforts. The Commission is deeply certain that the Academy is an opportunity not to be passed by. At this critical time in the Nation's history, the Commission urges the Congress, the President, and the people of the United States to consider carefully and favorably the immediate establishment of the United States Academy of Peace.

Notes

II: Commission Legislative Mandate and Process

p 7. Public Law 95-561: See Appendix B.

p 8. The Commission's process: See Appendix D.

p 9. Is and is not: Purposes and structure of the United States Academy of Peace are also represented in draft legislation, Appendix A.

p 10. On commissions as institutions: See Thomas R. Wolanin, PRESIDENTIAL ADVISORY COMMISSIONS: TRUMAN TO NIXON (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975).

IV: The Need For the United States Academy of Peace

p 21. "Goal of promoting peace ... ": P.L. 95-561 contains the Commissions' mandate: see Appendix B.

p 23. Roger Fisher on Camp David: see pp. 90-96.

p 23. Kenneth E. Boulding is an economist on the faculty of the University of Colorado (Boulder), former president of the American Economics

Association and the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and a prominent peace advocate and scholar whose books include STABLE PEACE (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1978), COLLECTED PAPERS, VOLUME 5--INTERNATIONAL SYSTEMS: PEACE, CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND POLITICS (ed. Larry D. Singell, Boulder, CO: Colorado Associated University Press, 1975), and CONFLICT AND DEFENSE: A GENERAL THEORY (New York: Harper, 1962).

p 28. "Simple denominator ... ": Independent Commission on International Development Issues, NORTH-SOUTH: A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1980), p. 13. "Interlocking system": ibid., p. 33. The report is commonly called THE BRANDT REPORT, after the commission's chairman, Willy Brandt, former Chancellor of The Federal Republic of Germany.

p 28. Immediate population projections: Council on Environmental Quality and Department of State, THE GLOBAL 2000 REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT: ENTERING THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY--VOLUME I (1980), p. 1. Longer range projections: ibid., p. 3.

p 28. "Policy tradeoffs and interdependence ... ": The Panel on the United States and the World Community of The President's Commission for a National Agenda for the Eighties, THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD COMMUNITY IN THE EIGHTIES (1981), pp. 6 and 8. The commission issued separate volumes from each of nine panels and a general report, A NATIONAL AGENDA FOR THE EIGHTIES.

p 29. "To the mind that doubts ... ": George Gilder, WEALTH AND POVERTY (New York: Basic Books, 1981), p. 247.

p 31. Dr. Goetz Lall is Associate Director of the Cornell University-New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, holds faculty positions there and at the International Peace Academy, and is the United States Representative to The United Nations Group of Experts on the Interrelationship Between Disarmament and International Security. General Keegan is retired from the Air Force, where his career included assignment to the Joint Chiefs of Staff and directorship of the United States Air Force Intelligence; upon retirement he became Executive Vice President of the United States Strategic Institute and editor of its "Strategic Review"; he currently is Co-chairman of The Coalition for Peace Through Strength. Dr. McNemar presently is Headmaster of Phillips Academy, Andover (MA); when he met with the Commission, he was Professor of Government and Dean at Dartmouth College. Dr. Walters is Professor of Political Science at Howard University, specializes in development issues, and is a foreign affairs advisor to the Congressional Black Caucus.

p 32. The emergence of new nations: THE BRANDT REPORT, p. 36.

p 32. New International Economic Order: See, C. Clyde Ferguson, Jr., "The Politics of the New International Economic Order," PROCEEDINGS OF THE ACADEMY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, Vol. 32, No. 4 (1977).

p 33. Dr. Bruce Currey quoted: Presidential Commission on World Hunger, OVERCOMING WORLD HUNGER: THE CHALLENGE AHEAD (Washington, March 1980).

p 35. "The most prevalent mistake ... ": Senator Hatfield's remarks are reported in full in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the Senate, 96th Congress, 2d Session, Vol. 126, No. 66, April 28, 1980.

p 40. The Connally Amendment: Attached by Senate action to the United States' document accepting compulsory jurisdiction of the International

Court of Justice under Article 36, para. 2. The reservation states that the United States may reject World Court jurisdiction over "disputes with regard to matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States of America as determined by the United States of America." 61 Stat. 1218 (August 14, 1946); 1 United Nations Treaty Series 9.

p 42. The "good offices" of the Secretary-General: Ramon, "Dispute Settlement Through the U.N." (UNITAR, 1977).

p 45. "The proposals were later echoed ... ": Schuman, "Why a Department of Peace" (Beverly Hills, CA: Another Mother for Peace, 1969), p. 13. This study presents the history to 1969 behind the idea for a United States Government peace office.

p 45. The 20th Century has seen: The Library of Congress, Legislative Reference Service, "Proposals for Departments of Peace and Related Agencies: Congressional Bills and Bibliography Covering 1935 through February 10, 1969" (Washington: February 17, 1969).

p 46. Claiborne Pell: "GEORGE WASHINGTON PEACE ACADEMY ACT, 1976," S. 1976, HEARING BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE, United States Senate, Ninety-fourth Congress, Second Session, May 13, 1976.

p 47. Harrison Williams: "NATIONAL ACADEMY OF PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION COMMISSION ACT OF 1977," S. 469, REPORT NO. 95-140, SUBMITTED BY SENATOR JENNINGS RANDOLPH, COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RESOURCES, Ninety-fifth Congress, First Session, May 12, 1977.

p 47. John Sparkman: "NATIONAL ACADEMY OF PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION COMMISSION ACT OF

1977," S. 469, REPORT NO. 95-263, SUBMITTED BY SENATOR JOHN SPARKMAN, COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, Ninety-fifth Congress, First Session, June 10, 1977.

p 47. Dante Fascell: "NATIONAL ACADEMY OF PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION," H.R. 10192, HEARINGS BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, United States House of Representatives, Ninety-fifth Congress, Second Session, January 24 and 25, 1978.

p 49. "The meanest and most squalid ... ": Brown, "Historical Patterns of American Violence," in VIOLENCE IN AMERICA: HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES, Hugh Davis Graham and Ted Robert Gurr (eds.), rev. ed., orig. pub. 1969 (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1979), p. 21.

p 55. "The character of our national union ... ": Statement of Commissioner Cruz Reynoso, U.S. IMMIGRATION POLICY AND THE NATIONAL INTEREST: THE FINAL REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SELECT COMMISSION ON IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE POLICY TO THE CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (Washington, March 1, 1981), p. 403.

p 56. The values include: The values are secured in part by the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, which reads: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

p 58. "The right to conflict": Paul Wehr, CONFLICT REGULATION (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1979), pp. 4-5.

p 64. It is not that the rules: See, Lawrence

Tribe, AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL LAW (Mineola, NY: Foundation Press, 1978), p. 1091.

p 65. A review of constitutional doctrine: See Tribe, ibid., on freedom.

p 67. Violent Conflict Pyramid: Adapted from E. Boulding, "Education for a Disarmed World: In Universities, Military Academies and a Possible National Peace Academy," American Association for the Advancement of Science Symposium on Public Opinion, Educational Outreach and Constituency Building for Arms Control (Toronto, January 5, 1981).

p 70. "Economic conversion": The Bay State Conversion Group, "The Case for Economic Conversion: A Look at Massachusetts" (Watertown, MA, September, 1979).

V: Managing International Conflict

p 75. "In no country ... ": Alexis de Toqueville, DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA (first pub. 1835; New York: Vintage, 1945), Vol. I, p. 198.

p 77. Mediating major debt forgiveness: Daniel Patrick Moynihan, A DANGEROUS PLACE (Boston: Little, Brown, 1977), pp. 17-18. The debt was so great the Indian Government could not get ahead of the interest payments. Much of Ambassador Moynihan's time was spent on this queston and, when it finally was resolved, he turned over to the Indian government on February 18, 1974, the largest single check up to that time in the history of banking: $2,046,700,000.

p 78. Ambassador Asencio's account: Ambassador Diego Asencio is writing a fuller account of his hostage experience, to be published by Atlantic Monthly Press under the title OUR MAN IS INSIDE.

p 90. Roger Fisher's books include: INTERNATIONAL MEDIATION: A WORKING GUIDE (New York: International Peace Academy, April 1978 Draft Edition); POINTS OF CHOICE: INTERNATIONAL CRISES AND THE ROLE OF LAW (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); and INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT FOR BEGINNERS (New York: Harper and Row, 1969). A book on negotiation will be published this year.

p 97. The Filer Commission: GIVING IN AMERICA: TOWARD A STRONGER VOLUNTARY SECTOR, Report of the Commission on Private Philanthropy and Public Needs (Washington, 1975), p. 31. The Commission's Chairman was John H. Filer, Chairman of Aetna Life & Casualty Company. See also, Ruth Gutama, "Introducing a Public Relations Role in Nonprofit International Relief and Development Agencies: OXFAM-America--A Case Study" (Boston: Boston University M.S. thesis, December 1975).

p 98. "Cottage industry": United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, "Report to Congress on Arms Control Education and Academic Study Centers" (January 1979), pp. iii and 14.

p 101. Roland Warren in Berlin: C.H. Mike Yarrow, QUAKER EXPERIENCES IN INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978); chapter 2, "Quaker Work between the Two Germanies," contains references to Dr. Warren's publications on the experience.

p 102. Raymond Helmick on Northern Ireland: See papers prepared at the Centre of Concern for Human Dignity, Haythrop College, 11 Cavendish Square, London W1M OAN and University Hall, Hatch Street, Dublin 2; Helmick, "Church Structure and Violence in Northern Ireland," THE MONTH--A REVIEW OF CHRISTIAN THOUGHT AND WORLD AFFAIRS, August 1977, pp. 273-276.

p 103. Non-Governmental Organizations: United Nations Economic and Social Council, "List of Non-

Governmental Organizations in Consultative Status with the Economic and Social Council in 1980," E/1981/INF/2, February 3, 1981.

p 104. Dr. John Mroz has written: John Edwin Mroz, BEYOND SECURITY: PRIVATE PERCEPTIONS AMONG ARABS AND ISRAELIS (New York: International Peace Academy, 1980).

p 104. "The intellectual and moral associations of America ... ": Alexis de Toqueville, DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA (first pub. 1835; New York: Vintage, 1945), Vol. II, p. 118.

p 106. Rev. John Adams social ministry: See John P. Adams, AT THE HEART OF THE WHIRLWIND (New York: Harper and Row, 1976) and Adams, "Ministries in the Midst of Social Conflict," ENGAGE/SOCIAL ACTION FORUM, No. 43 (Washington: United Methodist Church, August 1978), pp. 17-24, and "Practical Matters of Peace," E/SA FORUM-70 (April 1981).

VI: The Field of Peace Learning

p 120. Third Directory of Peace Research Institutions: UNESCO, PEACE RESEARCH: TREND REPORT AND WORLD DIRECTORY (Paris: UNESCO Reports and Papers in the Social Sciences, No. 43, 1978/1979). (Hereafter, UNESCO, PEACE RESEARCH.)

p 121. 1,755 social science institutions: Ibid., p. 21. ("Data from WORLD DIRECTORY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTIONS," UNESCO, 1977.)

p 122. UNITAR, which was "set up to enhance ... ": Ibid., p. 58.

p 122. University for Peace, recently authorized: Resol. No. 355 of the 2d Commission of the United Nations, 25th Ordinary Session of the General Assembly, adopted December 5, 1980.

p 124. "There can be too much consensus in a field ... ": J. David Singer, "Introduction" to J. David Singer and associates, EXPLAINING WAR: SELECTED PAPERS FROM THE CORRELATES OF WAR PROJECT (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1979), pp. 18-19. (Hereafter, Singer, "Introduction" to EXPLAINING WAR.)

p 124. An American historian: Quincy Wright, A STUDY OF WAR (2d ed.; Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 1965), (orig. pub., 1942).

p 125. An English meteorologist: Lewis F. Richardson, ARMS AND INSECURITY: A MATHEMATICAL STUDY OF THE CAUSES AND ORIGINS OF WAR (Pittsburgh: Boxwood Press, 1960) and STATISTICS OF DEADLY QUARRELS (Pittsburgh: Boxwood Press, 1960).

p 128. "The better our knowledge ... ": Singer, "The Peace Researcher and Foreign Policy Prediction," PEACE SCIENCE SOCIETY (INTERNATIONAL) PAPERS, XXI, 1973, p. 12.

p 129. "War, and the recurrent preparation for war ... ": Singer, "Preface" to Juergen Dedring, RECENT ADVANCES IN PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION: A CRITICAL SURVEY (UNITAR: Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1976), p. 8.

p 130. "Although our progress ... ": Singer, "Introduction" to EXPLAINING WAR, p. 17.

p 130. "The early warning indicators strategy ... ": J. David Singer and Michael D. Wallace, "Introduction" to TO AUGUR WELL: EARLY WARNING INDICATORS IN WORLD POLITICS (eds. J. David Singer and Michael D. Wallace; Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1979), p. 14. See also, Singer, "Accounting for International War: The State of the Discipline," American Review of Sociology, Vol. 6, pp. 349-67 (1980).

p 131. "Two views of the nature of power ... ":

Gene Sharp, THE POLITICS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION: PART I--POWER AND STRUGGLE, PART II--THE METHODS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION, PART III--THE DYNAMICS OF NON-VIOLENT ACTION (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973), p. 8.

p 131. Sharp describes nonviolent action: Ibid., pp. 70-71.

p 132. How and why "to apply nonviolent action ... ": Ibid., p. 810.

p 132. Sharp's most recent book: Gene Sharp, SOCIAL POWER AND POLITICAL FREEDOM (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1980).

p 132. Hatfield comments on Sharp's rational pragmatism: Hatfield, "Introduction" to ibid., p. ix.

p 132. "Dr. Sharp's intuitive grasp ... ": Ibid.

p 134. "The World Order Models Project was initially conceived ... ": Saul Mendlovitz, "General Introduction" to Richard A. Falk, A STUDY OF FUTURE WORLDS (New York: Free Press, 1975), pp. xix-xx. (Hereafter, Mendlovitz, "General Introduction.")

p 135. Galtung suggests that "in a conflict ... ": Jeurgen Dedring, RECENT ADVANCES IN PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION: A CRITICAL SURVEY (UNITAR: Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1976), p. 43.

p 135. View of violence through an "heuristic device ... ": Galtung, "Towards a Definition of Peace Research," United Nations University Project, Geneva; presented at the UNESCO Meeting in Co-ordination and Development of Research, Information, and Documentation on Peace, Paris, August 28, 1978, p. 4.

p 136. Thee's Peace Research Continuum: Marek

Thee, "Scope and Priorities in Peace Research," paper prepared for consultations in Peace Research, United Nations University, Tokyo, December 6, 1980.

p 137. "One thing that the development of futurism ... ": Elise Boulding, "Foreword" to Dedring, RECENT ADVANCES IN PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION: A CRITICAL SURVEY (UNITAR: Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1976), p. 2.

p 138. The five values adopted by the World Order Models Project: Juergen Dedring, RECENT ADVANCES, p. 55.

p 138. "Life, health, freedom, basic material comforts, and equal social status": Ibid., p. 56.

p 138. "To adopt the more traditional ... ": Mendlovitz, "General Introduction," p. xxii.

p 142. Book-length studies: Louis Kriesberg, THE SOCIOLOGY OF SOCIAL CONFLICTS (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973); Morton Deutsch, THE RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT: CONSTRUCTIVE AND DESTRUCTIVE PROCESSES (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1973); Adam Curle, MAKING PEACE (New York, London: Barnes and Noble, Tavistock, 1971); John Burton, CONFLICT AND COMMUNICATION: THE USE OF CONTROLLED COMMUNICATION IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969) and DEVIANCE, TERRORISM AND WAR (London: Martin Robertson, 1979); and Paul Wehr, CONFLICT REGULATION (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1978).

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p 146. Consortium on Peace Research, Education, and Development: Dr. William Keeney, Executive Director of COPRED, informed the Commission that COPRED has a membership of over 400 individuals and about 100 institutions, of which 30 are colleges or universities with major programs of peace studies and 60 are colleges or universities with courses and programs but no major, and that undergraduate peace studies programs are being created at a rate that far exceeds graduate school developments.

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p 147. "A single, universally recognized ... ": Kenneth Boulding, STABLE PEACE (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1978), p. 138.

p 147. Part of any shelf: Robert Angell, PEACE ON THE MARCH: TRANSNATIONAL PARTICIPATION (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1969); THE ETHICS OF SOCIAL INTERVENTION (eds. Gordon Bermant, Herbert Kelman, and Donald Warwick; New York: John Wiley, 1978); Anders Boserup and Andrew Mack, WAR

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p 149. Henry Kissinger, NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND FOREIGN POLICY (New York: Norton, 1969).

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ARCHIPELAGO 1918-1956: AN EXPERIMENT IN LITERARY INVESTIGATION, VOLS. I, II, and III (transl. Harry Willetts; New York: Harper and Row, 1974-1978).

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VII: The United States Academy of Peace

p 186. In developing its design for the Academy: Douglas Reichert of Dartmouth College provided the Commission with a detailed review of federal education and training programs for military, law enforcement, and foreign service personnel. The Commission also examined the following institutions: American Council of Learned Societies, Appalachian Regional Commission, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Consolidated Rail Corporation, Corporation for Public Broadcasting, East-West Center, Export-Import Bank, Federal Council on the Arts, Federal Reserve System, Federal Trade Commission (basic structure), Foreign Service Institute, Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education, Gallaudet College, Howard University, Inter-American Foundation, International Trade Commission, John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, Legal Services Corporation, National Academy of Sciences, National Council on the Arts, National Council on the Humanities, National Defense University, National Endowment for the Arts, National Endowment for the Humanities, National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities, National Gallery of Art, National Heart Institute, National Institute of Education, National Science Foundation, Overseas Private Investment Corporation, Peace Corps, Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation, Smithsonian Institution (basic structure), Synthetic Fuels Corporation, Tennessee Valley Authority, United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, United States Air Force Academy, United

States Military Academy, United States Naval Academy, and Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars.

Commissioner Statements

DISSENTING VIEWS OF COMMISSIONER JOHN ASHBROOK

Peace is like health in the limited sense that everyone is for it. If "peace learning" (to use the Commission majority's phrase) were like health learning, the case for a new Federal agency analogous to the National Institutes of Health would be persuasive. But it is not.

There is no consensus among scholars, even among those who support the concept of a Federal Peace Academy, on whether peace research is now or ever will be a coherent and rigorous academic discipline. Professor Kenneth Boulding wrote in 1978 that the field is still in the first phase of a new discipline: it has a bibliography, and you can give an examination in it. In the second phase, according to Professor Boulding, "the intellectual ferment has produced a moderately homogeneous brew which can be summarized in a textbook. The conflict and peace studies discipline ... has not yet reached this stage, but I would expect it to do so in the next ten years."

The Commission majority makes no such prediction, but it argues

> ... that peace studies is a distinct and definable field of learning for three reasons: it has a

> literature, courses of study, and professional organizations; it has well-defined assumptions and definitions, and a variety of research methodologies; and it has a strong applied component in the practice of conflict intervention.

By those standards, "health" has been a distinct field of learning for most of the last millenium, including the centuries when the average encounter between the average doctor and the average patient was as likely to shorten the latter's life as to lengthen it. So are astrology, Lysenkoism, and Keynesian economics.

But an academic field which wants to have an official government agency of its very own should be held to higher standards. It should demonstrate the kind of conceptual solidity and compelling explanatory power which irresistibly command the attention and transform the thinking habits of scholars in related or competing fields. It should prove beyond reasonable doubt that it is more than a passing fad.

Peace learning has not yet done this. It may never do so. But some 80 colleges and universities currently have departments of peace studies or conflict resolution; we do not need a new Federal agency to give peace studies a chance.

The Commission's staff has mentioned its concern that an official Peace Academy might be "too close to the government to ask the hard questions such an institution should ask." The Commission majority apparently believes that it is possible to solve this problem, but I do not. By its very nature it is impossible to solve.

Peace is inseparable from justice, and justice is inseparable from morality. Sometimes it is impossible to secure justice without conflict, and that means that some conflicts are desirable. The best outcome for some conflicts is not compromise or arbitration, but a clearcut victory for the side that deserves to win.

Unless a Peace Academy confines itself to trivia, it will have to make judgments about which conflicts are desirable, which not. Such judgments are inescapably value-laden; as the Commission majority observes, "questions of ethics and values are central, not peripheral, to peace inquiries." But the formulation of values is not a proper activity for a government agency. Government-formulated values are almost always warped values: bent by the pressures of special interests and ideologues.

What would those pressures be? As a practical matter, the danger of an official Peace Academy's being unduly influenced by the selfish interests of, say, the Joint Chiefs of Staff is rather small. Given the ideological predilections of most "peace studies" professionals, it is more likely that the Academy would become a sounding board for the anti-nationalist, accommodationist views which are increasingly unpopular among American taxpayers. (The Commission proposal increases this danger by allowing the Academy to receive and spend funds from private organizations.) But the dilemma is unavoidable: if a government Peace Academy exists, it will either force citizens to subsidize the promotion of beliefs they disagree with, or allow research decisions to be swayed by popular pressures. The only way out of this dilemma is to leave the frontiers of controversial research in the private sector, which is where they belong in a free society.

Judging by the Commission's hearing record, most proponents of an official Peace Academy seem to believe that the United States should have a government agency which views the world, not from the perspective of American values and interests, but with the sort of pseudo-cosmopolitan outlook that prevails at places like the United Nations. Embedded in this outlook are a number of tacit premises:

* Ideologies, except for so-called "colonialism," are mostly benign

or unimportant. In any case, ideology can be defused by neutral expertise.

- The chief barrier to worldwide progress is Western arrogance and selfishness.
- "Nationalism" is a bad thing, except in the Third World.
- Power politics is inherently immoral, at least when used by the West.
- It is more important to "resolve" conflicts than to win them, except for selected conflicts in places like southern Africa.
- There is no irreconcilable conflict of values between the United States and the Soviet Union.

So much for some of their major premises.

The type of thinking which is based on these premises has been with us for a long time. It was stated as ably as it can be by Zbigniew Brzezinski, who wrote in 1970 that "Today the old framework of internatonal politics ... with their spheres of influence, military alliances between nation-states, the fiction of sovereignty, doctrinal conflicts arising from 19th-century crisis is clearly no longer compatible with reality." For the last four years, this view was the dominant one in our foreign policy. The results are plain for all to see.

In March 1980, the staff of this Commission produced a "Design Paper" which allows further insight into the pro-Peace Academy philosophy. On page 6 of this document, the writers state that "when conflict resolution or conflict management is taken to mean pacification, delay, placation, uation of the status quo, justice is not served and often more violence is apt to occur." With all due respect to my fellow Commissioners and to our staff, I must say that this statement is pure malarkey. It reflects a naive view of historical change, which is all too common among modern liberals confronted by revolutionaries who believe in dialectical materialism.

In the real world, the status quo is often the least violent, least unjust choice available--as it was in Indochina, Ethiopia, and Iran. There is often a lot to be said for "delay," especially when the changes being delayed are nasty, and difficult to reverse.

On page 7 of this document there appears another passage worth pausing to consider. The writers opine that

> inflation, unemployment, and the limits of resources, combined with poverty, racial discrimination, the problems of social services delivery, equal educational opportunity, consumer and environmental protection, and prison conditions are among the conditions which have resulted in an increase in the number of conflicts to almost unmanageable proportions. The degree to which society deals with such disputes in creative, just, and direct ways may affect future levels of social violence.

The fascinating thing about this passage is the way it manages to be both selective and expansive at the same time. Why do the writers not include on their list of "conditions" such items as high taxes, zero-growth economics, regulatory strangulation, street crime, pornography, race/sex quotas, and forced busing? Why do they include only those problems which are thought by some (usually the liberals) to require more Federal activism rather than less? The list's selectivity pinpoints one of the fundamental problems with any government research academy: it will not bite the hand that feeds it.

On the other hand, why do the writers lump together so many different kinds of disagreements which one human being might have with another? There is no particularly good reason to do so unless one believes that conflict is unnatural to the human condition and can be banished through some exotic new blend of therapeutic and managerial techniques. Since this belief is totally founded on hope rather than experience, each of us is free to accept or reject it. I reject it.

The most frequent argument I have heard in favor of an official Peace Academy is also the most exasperating. It goes like this: the government spends a lot of money on the military, but relatively little on peace. If we really care about peace, we should give it a bigger share of the Federal budget.

Aside from the fact that this argument implicitly denies that our military spending is at least intended to help keep the peace, it reflects a fundamental misunderstanding as to who "we" are. "We," the American people, are not identical to the national government. We pursue many important and diverse goals through means other than Federal programs; in some areas, like education, we have learned the hard way that Federal programs do more to strangle than to promote creativity and progress.

If dollars are the measure, consider that in 1978 Americans spent more than $337 billion in international trade and tourism: three times the size of that year's defense budget. Most of that sum represented "spending for peace," and it was spent a lot more efficiently than it would have been under any conceivable government program.

If Peace Academy proponents really believe that the Federal government should have a monopoly on peace--or should stop having a monopoly on war--they should say so. If not, they should drop this whole line of argument. I am glad to see that the majority report does not use this argument; I wish it had explicitly repudiated it.

While I would be known as a hawk, not a dove in the modern concept of those terms, peace and pursuit of peaceful goals would be uppermost in my conscience. We all want peace. Americans have no apologies to make for our 200 year history when compared to any other nations in history. Most of us follow the thesis set out by John Adams who said something to the effect that he studied war so his sons could study politics and so his grandsons could study poetry and the classics.

The Commission majority has tried to anchor its proposal in the American heritage by citing numerous proposals, from the 1790's to the present, for an official "peace office" or "department of peace" in the Federal bureaucracy. (The 1783 quotation from George Washington is grotesquely distorted: Washington was actually recommending a peacetime militia, not a peace agency in the sense conveyed by the majority report.) All these proposals have had one striking element in common: they have always been rejected, no matter what faction or party was in power. Benjamin Banneker's 1792 essay actually lamented that neither the victorious Federalist not the anti-Federalist opposition seemed interested in the idea. Despite frequent repetition, the proposal has never been accepted by the mainstream of American political thinking.

A common thread seemed to go through the thinking of most of the individuals and groups who favor this Peace Academy. Indeed, one of the phenomena of this postwar era has been the fear that liberals seem to have about American power. I have no fear of American power because it is my sincere belief that it will continue to be exercised for good. History shows that power has always existed and someone has always had it--like it or not. There are no vacuums and with modern technology we will no longer have the safety margin of time and distance.

The only question we really have to ask ourselves is whether it is better for us to continue to possess the power to be the leader in the world to use it for principles which we clearly espouse or to relinquish that power to other forces who surely would not use it for the lofty goals and ideals which have been the American dream and the American reality. There is a guilt feeling among many Americans of the liberal persuasion who think we are too strong, too rich, too powerful. Some even argue, therefore, too dangerous to world peace. I cannot agree with them. The real dangers to world peace come from other quarters.

I cannot agree that Congress should embark on the Peace Academy route envisioned by my fellow commissioners. Years ago it became apparent to me that we should have some Freedom Academy, a place where Americanism can be taught and courses on communism made available to teachers, scholars and other interested citizens. I would favor that before we embark on the course cited in this report. Even in a Freedom Academy, I would have difficulty in advocating the model set out by my fellow commissioners. I just can't trust Federal prime responsibility for such a venture, whether it be in the climate of a Carter or a Reagan administration.

If Congress should be so foolish as to create a Federal Peace Academy and even if it became a forum wherein its one foreign policy philosophy were identical to my own, I still would not welcome any such official favoritism. But more likely, the Peace Academy would soon become a haven for our Andrew Youngs, Ramsey Clarks, and others who believe that the way to make peace with the assorted ayatollahs and other titled bandits of today's world is to grovel.

The irony is that this "new" idea has already had its chance, has already been thoroughly tested and explored. For the last four years, an official Federal agency was dedicated to this very philosophy and embarked on this very experiment: the White House.

Statement of Commissioner William Lincoln

My support and enthusiasm for the Matsunaga Commission's findings, report, and recommendations to the President and to the Congress are tarnished with several serious concerns. First, however, I wish to express the reasons for my support.

Without qualification the Commission has objectively and thoroughly answered the questions which the Congress placed before it: A U.S. Academy of Peace is indeed *necessary, appropriate,* and *feasible.* I support that statement as a Commissioner, as a patriot, as a citizen of this nation and a brother to all peoples of the world, as an academician, as a professional practitioner of community dispute resolution, as an Independent, and perhaps most notably as a convert to the concept which the Commission recommends.

The hearings which we conducted in a dozen cities, coupled with a series of special meetings and our examination of copious data, changed my views from all but outright rejection of the Peace Academy concept to skepticism, to openmindedness, to comprehension, to conversion, to commitment, to current fervent advocacy. It is meaningful and right--indeed mandatory--that this Nation establish, operate, and maintain such an academy. No clearer signal could be sent to peoples everywhere that the United States is committed to the further development and implementation of international and intranational conflict resolution by peaceful means which are equitable, efficient, and cost effective.

And it is proper that this living symbol be a creation of the Federal Government. In doing so, it would not be the first time our government engaged in a single discipline or a single cause as some would contend. To cite but a few examples where Congress and the Executive Office have cooperated in the past to meet unique needs of our nation, we have the National Science Foundation for the pursuit of science; military service academies for the pursuit of quality education appropriate and applicable to professional military service; the FBI Training Academy for the pursuit of quality training in federal law enforcement; and NASA for the pursuit of not only science but national security and commerce in space. From the National Medical Library to the National Egg Board, this Nation has rightfully demonstrated legitimate concern for legitimate issues. There are no greater issues or interests before us than just peace in both the international and intranational arenas of conflict--real, perceived, and potential but never inevitable.

No Commissioner who signed the Commission's Final Report and Recommendations denies the regrettable reality that this Nation currently needs a responsible military capability. No such Commissioner denies that this Nation and all nations must urgently strive to develop and use credible systems and skills to resolve international differences. No such Commissioner denies that nuclear disarmament and eventual conventional disarmament must become a reality within the foreseeable future. No such Commissioner denies that a just peace free of capitulation is now the challenge and no longer the dream. No such Commissioner denies that the U.S. Academy of Peace would complement and supplement responsible military peace-keeping efforts. And no such Commissioner denies that if we primarily prepare for war we will surely find it, but if we now prepare for just durable peace we surely have a better chance of acquiring it instead. If military deterrence becomes our highest valued goal and achievement, it will also surely be our folly. I wish for America always to be respected rather than simply feared and scorned. That is the wish of all America and its allies.

The U.S. Academy of Peace would be only one of several efforts to achieve what has seemed for so long to be so abstract and so elusive. Other efforts must include greater public awareness of the realities and of hopeful possibilities, intensified academic research into new systems and replication, increased cross-cultural exchanges in the arts and athletics, genuine assistance to developing nations, renewed concern for human rights, the prudent use of natural resources, and the proper protection of the environment which is the world's and not merely our own.

But this Academy would be unique as a functional symbol and as a living legacy from our government to our peoples and to all peoples of the world. The Academy would elevate dispute resolution from an erroneously perceived art to a legitimate technology which can be measured and evaluated. While dispute resolution and crisis management are embryonic, there already exists a vast credible body of knowledge which can be taught and practiced with undeniable authority. But current dispute resolution technology can and must become more profound as have subliminal advertising, psychological warfare, and propaganda. Yet, unlike these examples, the science of conflict resolution is a credible nonmanipulative discipline for good--the preservation and perpetuation of human dignity, national liberties, and intra- and international cooperation.

While the Administration, Congress, and the American publics wrestle with this new proposal before them, it is important for all to note that the proposed Academy is NOT to be among the following concepts:

The Academy is ...

- *not* to be an intervention agency.
- *not* to be a national policy-setting agency.
- *not* to be an institutionalized adversary of the military.
- *not* to be regarded as an alternative to

the military academies and war colleges.

And, as we consider passage of legislation which would create this Academy, we must all note that the institution is ...

* *not* an effort to create vocational elitism.

* *non* bureaucratic.

* *non* regulatory.

* *non* inflationary.

* *not* an alternative which should be provided by the private education sector.

This last point deserves elaboration. Even some nonadvocates of the proposed Academy testified that our schools of diplomacy are not providing the education or training proposed--nor would they be able to do so considering the justifiable advocacy emphasis of their curricula due to the very definition of diplomacy. Surely we hope, however, that a continuous cooperative interplay will be developed and maintained between the Academy and the schools of diplomacy. Virtually every school which has any semblance of a peace studies program verified the need and the appropriateness of this proposed national Academy.

Professional intervention agencies such as the American Arbitration Association see no jurisdictional infringement which could jeopardize their own self-interest. Consequently the Association--via its President Robert C. Coulson--offered unconditional testimony favoring the Federal Government's formation of the Academy. Even the Ford and Hewlett Foundations' inspired National Institute of Dispute Resolution (NIDR) would perform quite different functions than would the proposed Academy. Sincere consideration, however, might be given to the possibility of contracting with NIDR for technical assistance as well as for both monitoring and evaluating the Academy, particularly in its formative years. Yet, let it be noted: No alternative or substitute for the proposed Academy could serve as the needed functional symbol which the Academy would provide and itself be.

In summary, the U.S. Academy of Peace is to be primarily a graduate educational institution serving mid-career students from virtually every sector of our society but with a clear focus upon international concerns including those related to military functions, nuclear proliferation, disarmament, world commerce, exploration and use of space and the seas, technological sharing, human service management, and cultural understandings. The multi-disciplinary curriculum will enable graduates to return to their jobs with expanded capabilities to foster cooperation and to apply conflict resolution skills for the development of just and durable world peace.

But that is not enough, and it is here that I address my concerns.

THE RECOMMENDED NAME OF THE ACADEMY

Admittedly I have vacillated on this topic, and at one point even officially voted for the Commission's recommendation. However, "United States Academy of Peace" is not only incomplete nomenclature, but also inaccurate relative to the core thinking of the Commissioners and other countless proponents of the concept. A "United States Academy for Peace and Justice," on the other hand, provides a more accurate, comprehensive, and yet concise statement of purpose and mission.

Peace and conflict resolution without the deliberate aims for equity and justice would be devoid of integrity, and too easily could camouflage covert and overt intentions of oppression and even exploitation. But *peace with justice* offers the promise of an ordered life in which creative freedom can take root and grow.

AN INTERNATIONAL FOCUS WITH AN INTRANATIONAL BALANCE

Expert testimony unequivocally acknowledged that both sectors have much to learn from one another and, consequently, both concerns should be housed together. Dissension on this matter persisted within the Commission. This issue was a major struggle for the Commission. Revision of the Final Report was necessary to resolve our own internal dispute. Reason prevailed, and the Commission's Report now more clearly includes intranational conflict as a legitimate concern for the Academy.

I am not optimistic, however, that the inclusion wil survive the legislative process. And yet it must, for if it does not the Academy will have little credibility with or support by this Nation's minorities--racial, ethnic, religious, women, elderly, the handicapped, gays, or the poor. While nobody has ever accused me of being a liberal, I am often regarded by many as a realist. As an American realist, I surely know that it would be immoral, unconscionable, unAmerican, and intolerable for the Academy to neglect the conflict arenas in which so many of our peoples are both warriors and victims. The latent functions of such unwarranted neglect would be disastrous at home as well as abroad. The inclusion of intranational concerns must remain an integral part of the Academy's focus, and it is to this end that I and others are committed.

In the further interests of justice, freedom, and order as well as national security, let us forever recall the words of President John F. Kennedy: "Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable." The Academy has the potential of making rapid social change and orderly social change noncontradictory. That alone is an effort of great merit.

And finally, the rightful coupling of inter- and intranational concerns for conflict may help bridge the traditional schism between advocates for world peace and activists for civil and human rights. That schism is usually along racial and/or ethnic lines.

AN EXTENSION NETWORK WITH REGIONAL SITES

The Report refers to interest in establishing regional site offices to be affiliated with major institutions and universities, but the Report does not recommend such. Instead the Report basically encourages the Board of Directors to consider an extension program, but to use its own discretion. This must be corrected within the legislative process.

Eight to 15 regional campus site offices would make the Academy accessible to countless Americans, and could provide a range of services from technical assistance, clinical supervision, specialized seminars and skills training programs, dissemination of information, and home front visibility. The inclusion of such a network need not be equated with exorbitant expenditures.

BUDGET AND FUNDING

The Report recommends the following:

- $15 million as a capitalization fund for the purchase of buildings and grounds, to be available until spent.
- $ 6 million year one for operations.
- $10 million year two for operations.
- $15 million year three for operations.
- $20 million year four for operations.

Suffice it to say that these amounts are too low, much too low. If each amount were to be multiplied by three, the fourth year of the Academy's operations would approximate about one half the current cost of one B-52 bomber. As long as we require such expensive weaponry and so much of it, we also are in need of a relatively modest yet adequately funded Academy.

Continued funding of the Academy, a federally chartered nonprofit corporation, must be shared by endowments provided by the private sector and by the general public. Ideas such as the sale of "Peace Bonds" and an IRS check-off option should not be dismissed lightly or prematurely.

CONCLUSION

A private lobbying group, the National Peace Academy Campaign (N-PAC), which is not affiliated with the Matsunaga Commisson, often quotes the words of former U.S. Army Chief of Staff, General Omar Bradley: "We have become a nation of nuclear giants and ethical infants. We know more about war than we do about peace, more about killing than we do about living." Sad and unfortunate, but true. The words apply not merely to our nation, but to most nations. Our planet has suffered 150 wars since 1945: from Afghanistan to Zimbabwe. The earth wants peace, but not the tortured peace of Poland or the declared peace in Korea, not the orderly yet unjust and apprehensive peace in so many nations. The proposed U.S. Academy of Peace would help us fulfill what people too long have only dreamed about and still now are discouraged about.

Peace really is a very conservative idea, if only because the modern means of war and social unrest are so radical, so tragic, and so costly in terms of energy, lives, and even money. In this age of potential nuclear madness, do we dare deny our collective custody for all this planet holds only so we can all die at approximately the same time? I hope not. The proposed Academy could provide part of the answer.

Indeed, the Academy is obligatory. It would be an appropriate living legacy to all peoples by the people holding this Nation's highest public offices. Only then could this Nation and the world dare hope again for peace on earth ... good will toward all men, women, children, and every living thing ... here and everywhere ... soon and forever. To do anything less would be to betray the best of our heritage and the true statements of our national goals. So be it.

STATEMENT OF COMMISSIONER JOHN DELLENBACK

With transmittal of this report to President Reagan and to each House of the Congress, the Commission concludes its work. It sets the stage for an extraordinary opportunity, whose time for action is very much now: namely, the establishment of the United States Academy of Peace. I strongly support Federal creation of the United States Academy of Peace as proposed by the Commission, and urge my former colleagues in the Congress to act swiftly and decisively on the proposal.

I touch briefly on three aspects of this matter. First, the Academy must focus on international peace. Second, the Academy idea fits squarely within our Nation's ideals and history. And third, the world situation is too fragile to forfeit the promise of the Academy.

The Commission has made it clear that the Academy's principal focus should be on international peace. The need to remove injustice and violence from America must not divert the Academy from its principal concentration on international concerns. The international and intranational are certainly intertwined, but except to the degree that there are international lessons to be learned therefrom, it would be a mistake to expect the Academy to concentrate on conflict problems within the Nation as well as those among nations. The Academy well could founder on rocky disputes over crime, education, migration, procreation, taxation, or Federal-State relations. The immediacy and nearness of such issues as those could engulf and dilute the international peace mandate of the

Academy. The forum to concentrate on study and discussion of those issues should be elsewhere.

Americans have a history of deep concern for peace. The report is eloquent on this point and envisions the Academy building on this solid base. I have felt and experienced this concern personally as a practicing lawyer, as a teacher, through service as a Member of Congress and as a Naval officer, and while Director of the Peace Corps. For two years, I knew first-hand the work of American Volunteers and the energy and creativity these men and women lived out abroad and then brought home. In our outreach overseas through committed missionaries, in aid and grants of material goods, even in sending some of our finest young men to fight abroad, we as a nation have reached steadily for peace. In addition, we have sought domestically for peaceful ways to deal with strains and conflicts. Much has been learned and a good deal accomplished, and the proposed Academy represents a logical further step in building on this past to increase our ability to promote international peace.

The report lays out a range of problems the world faces. Like it or not, the United States is now so involved with the rest of the world that we are affected to a major degree by an absence of peace anywhere on the globe. And nuclear weapons are so widely spread that long-run peace is precarious. We as a nation should simultaneously be walking all possible roads to solve inevitable international conflicts with a minimum of violence and disruption. One path is through diplomacy. Another through enhanced international commerce. Another through a strong military. Surely still another should be through establishment of an Academy which can help in the training and education of our people who will be occupying key roles in each of those other efforts.

It would be a major historic mistake to reject the avenue offered by the Commission's proposal for the United States Academy of Peace. I have no illusions as to its promise. It alone will not create peace. It is an enabling institution, based on the premise that international peace is of deep concern to Americans and others regardless of their vocational situation. It is not an adversary to the military, and I do not argue that the Academy should be funded because so much is invested in destructive weapons. Throughout our Nation, the Academy can help harness knowledge and expand skills for peace. Its cost is relatively low. And as an investment in the future, its value well may be priceless.

Appendixes

Appendix A

Draft Legislation for the United States Peace Academy

97th CONGRESS
1st Session

S. ____________

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. Matsunaga (for himself and   ) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee ____________________

A BILL

To establish the United States Academy of Peace, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "United States Academy of Peace Act".

DECLARATION OF FINDINGS AND PURPOSES

Sec. 2.(a) The Congress finds and declares that--

(1) a living institution embodying the heritage, ideals, and concerns of the American people for peace would be a significant response to the deep public need for the Nation to develop fully a range of effective options, in addition to armed capacity, that can leash international violence and manage international conflict;

(2) people throughout the world are fearful of nuclear war, are divided by war and threats of war, are experiencing social and cultural hostilities from rapid international change and real and perceived conflicts over interests, and are diverted from peace by the lack of problem-solving skills for dealing with such conflicts;

(3) many potentially destructive conflicts among nations and peoples have been resolved constructively and with cost efficiency at the international, national, and community levels through proper use of such techniques as negotiation, conciliation, mediation, and arbitration;

(4) there is a national need to examine the disciplines in the social, behavioral, and physical sciences and the arts and humanities with regard to the history, nature, elements, and future of peace processes, and to bring together and develop new and tested techniques to promote peaceful economic, political, social, and cultural relations in the world;

(5) the peacemaking activities of Americans throughout government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations can be strengthened by a national institution devoted to international peace research, education and training, and information services;

(6) there is a need for Federal leadership to expand and support the existing international peace and conflict resolution efforts of the Nation and to develop new comprehensive peace education and training programs, basic and applied research projects, and programs providing peace information;

(7) the Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution, created by the Education Amendments of 1978, recommended establishing an academy as a highly desirable investment to further the Nation's interest in promoting international peace;

(8) an academy, strengthening and symbolizing the fruitful relation between the world of learning and the world of public affairs, would be the most efficient and immediate means for the Nation to enlarge its capacity to promote the peaceful resolution of international conflicts; and

(9) the establishment of an academy is an appropriate investment by the people of this Nation to advance the history, science, art, and practice of international peace and the resolution of conflicts among nations without the use of violence.

(b) It is the purpose of this Act to establish an independent, nonprofit, national institution to serve the people and the Government through the widest possible range of education and training, basic and applied research opportunities, and peace information services on the means to promote international peace and the resolution of conflicts among the nations and peoples of the world without recourse to violence.

DEFINITIONS

Sec. 3. As used in this Act, the term--

(1) "Academy" means the United States Academy of Peace established under this Act;

(2) "Board" means the Board of Directors of the Academy; and

(3) "Center" means the Center for International Peace of the Academy.

ESTABLISHMENT

Sec. 4. (a) There is hereby established the United States Academy of Peace.

(b) The Academy is an independent nonprofit corporation and an organization as defined in section 170 (c) (2) (B) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954. The Academy does not have the power to issue any shares of stock or to declare or pay any dividends. No part of the financial resources, income, or assets of the Academy or of any legal entity established by the Academy may inure to the benefit of a director, officer, employee, or agent of the Academy, except as reasonable compensation for service or payment for expenses.

(c) The Academy shall maintain its principal office in the District of Columbia with a designated agent or agents to accept service of process for the corporation. Notice to or service upon an agent shall be deemed notice to or service upon the Academy.

(d) The Academy may rent, lease, purchase, or receive and hold in its name property for offices, schools, and other facilities and to carry out activities under this Act. As determined by the Board, the Academy may establish offices, schools, and other facilities outside the District of Columbia for purposes not inconsistent with this Act.

(e) As determined by the Board, the Academy may establish, under the laws of the District of Columbia, a legal entity which shall be considered part of the Academy and which is capable of receiving, holding, and investing public and private funds for purposes in furtherance of the Academy under this Act. The Academy may designate such legal entity as the "Endowment of the United States Academy of Peace".

(f) The Academy is liable for the acts of its directors, officers, employees, and agents when acting within the scope of their authority.

(g) The Academy has the sole and exclusive right to use and to allow or refuse others the use of the terms "United States Academy of Peace", "Center for International Peace", and "Endowment of the United States Academy of Peace" and the use of any official United States Academy of Peace emblem, badge, seal, and other mark of recognition or any colorable simulation thereof. No powers or privileges hereby granted shall interfere or conflict with established or vested rights secured as of September 1, 1981.

POWER AND DUTIES

Sec. 5. (a) The Academy may exercise the powers conferred upon a nonprofit corporation by the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act consistent with this Act, except for section 5 (o) of the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act (section 1005 (o) of title 29 of the District of Columbia Code).

(b) The Academy may--

(1) establish a Center for International Peace and appoint to it for periods up to two years scholars and leaders in peace from the United States and abroad to pursue scholarly inquiry and other appropriate forms of communication on international peace and conflict resolution and, as appropriate, provide stipends, grants, fellowships, and other support to the leaders and scholars;

(2) establish such divisions, programs, schools, and offices as the Board deems appropriate to carry out this Act;

(3) enter into formal and informal relationships with other institutions, public and private, for purposes not inconsistent with this Act;

(4) conduct research and make studies, particularly of an interdisciplinary or of a multidisciplinary nature, into the causes of war and other international conflicts and the elements of peace among the nations and peoples of the world, including peace theories, methods, techniques, programs, and systems, and into the experiences of the United States and other nations in resolving conflicts with justice and dignity and without violence as they pertain to the advancement of international peace and conflict resolution;

(5) develop programs to make international peace and conflict resolution research, education, and training more available and useful to persons in government, private enterprise, and

voluntary associations, including the creation of handbooks and other practical materials;

(6) provide peace education and research programs at graduate and postgraduate levels that lead to degrees as well as to certificates and other forms of recognition;

(7) conduct training, symposia, and continuing education programs for practitioners, policymakers, policy implementers, and citizens and noncitizens directed to developing their skills in international peace and conflict resolution;

(8) develop for publication or other public communication and disseminate the products of the Academy;

(9) establish a clearinghouse and other means for disseminating information from the field of peace learning to the public and to government personnel;

(10) establish a United States Medal of Peace, and any other medals or honors the Board periodically may recommend, to be awarded annually with appropriate ceremony by the President of the United States, upon recommendation to the President by the Board, to one or more individuals or groups deserving of exemplary recognition for personal or group contribution to international peace education, training, or research. A medal shall be accompanied by a cash award in an amount determined by the Board. A person associated with the Academy may receive a medal or other award; and

(11) secure directly and without reimbursement, upon request of the president of the Academy to the head of any Federal department or agency, information necessary to enable the Academy to carry out the purposes of this Act if

such release of the information would not unduly interfere with the proper functioning of a department or agency.

(c) The Academy may undertake extension and outreach activities under this Act by making grants and entering into contracts with institutions of postsecondary, community, secondary, and elementary education including combinations of such institutions, with public and private educational, training, or research institutions including libraries, and with public departments and agencies including State and territorial departments of education and of commerce. No grant may be made to an institution unless it is a nonprofit or official public institution. A grant or contract may be made to--

(1) initiate, strengthen, and support basic and applied research on international peace and conflict resolution;

(2) promote and advance the study of international peace and conflict resolution by educational, training, and research institutions, departments, and agencies;

(3) educate the Nation about and educate and train individuals in peace and conflict resolution theories, methods, techniques, programs, and systems;

(4) assist the Academy in its publication, clearinghouse, and other information services programs; and

(5) promote the other purposes of this Act.

(d) The Academy may respond to the request of a department or agency of the United States Government to investigate, examine, study, and report on any issue within the Academy's competence. A request may be refused for reason of cost or of in-appropriateness to the Academy's purposes or independence.

(e) The Academy may enter into contracts for the proper operation of the Academy, including maintenance of its offices, schools, and other facilities.

(f) The Academy may appoint and fix the compensation and duties of officers, employees, and agents and establish such advisory committees, councils, or other bodies as the efficient administration of the business and purposes of the Academy may require.

(g) The Academy may adopt, amend, and alter bylaws, not inconsistent with the laws of the United States and the District of Columbia, for the management of Academy property and the regulation of Academy affairs.

(h) The Academy may obtain grants and contracts and receive gifts and contributions from government at all levels, international organizations, and private agencies, organizations, institutions, and individuals.

(i) The Academy may charge and collect subscription fees and develop for publication or other public communication, and disseminate, periodicals and other material.

(j) The Academy may charge and collect fees and other participation costs from persons and institutions participating in the Academy's direct activities authorized in subsection (b).

(k) The Academy may sue and be sued, complain, and defend in any court of competent jurisdiction.

(l) The Academy may adopt, alter, use, and display a corporate seal, emblem, badge, and other mark of recognition and colorable simulations thereof.

(m) The Academy may do any and all lawful acts and things necessary or desirable to carry out the objectives and purposes of this Act.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Sec. 6. (a) The powers of the Academy shall be vested in a Board of Directors unless otherwise specified in this Act.

(b) The Board of Directors shall consist of fifteen members appointed as follows:

(1) two Members of the Senate, one from each of the major political parties, to be appointed by the Senate President pro tempore no later than five days after the confirmation of the members nominated by the President;

(2) two Members of the House of Representatives, one from each of the major political parties, to be appointed by the Speaker of the House no later than five days after the confirmation of the members nominated by the President; and

(3) eleven persons, no more than six of whom may be members of the same political party and none of whom may be employees of the Federal Government, appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Not later than ninety days after the date of enactment of this Act, the President shall nominate the eleven individuals for the initial Board and transmit their names and any other information to the Senate. If the Senate fails to confirm a nominee, it shall so inform the President. The President shall sub-

mit the name of a new nominee within fifteen days of notice of rejection by the Senate.

(c) A director shall take an oath of office administered by the Vice President of the United States within two weeks after appointment, if a Member of Congress, or after confirmation by the Senate, if a Presidential appointee.

(d) Members of the Board of Directors shall serve the following terms of office:

(1) A Member of Congress appointed to the Board shall serve for a single term of six years and only while serving as a Member of Congress.

(2) When submitting nominations for the initial Board, the President shall stipulate by name four directors who shall serve for five year terms, four directors who shall serve for four year terms, and three directors who shall serve for three year terms. Thereafter, each Presidential appointee, except for a director appointed to fill an unexpired term, shall serve for a five year term. No Presidential appointee may serve on the Board for more than ten years.

(3) No person may be appointed to less than a full term unless appointed to fill an unexpired term.

(e) Whenever a vacancy occurs on the Board before the expiration of a director's term of office, the vacancy shall be filled--

(1) if a Member of Congress, pursuant to paragraph (1) or (2) of subsection (b) with the appointment made to a full term no later than thirty calendar days after the vacancy occurs; or

(2) if a Presidential appointee, by the Board submitting a list of nominees of no less than three and no more than five names to the

President no later than thirty calendar days after the vacancy occurs. The President shall select a nominee from the list and submit the nominee's name to the Senate for confirmation no later than thirty calendar days after receiving the Board's recommendations.

(f) At least ninety days but no more than one hundred and twenty days before the timely expiration of the term of office of any Presidential appointee to the Board, the Board shall submit to the President a list of no less than three and no more than five recommendations for each position. The President shall submit the name of the nominee for each position, selected from the Board's list of recommendations, to the Senate for confirmation at least forty-five calendar days before expiration of the term of office to be filled.

(g) A director may be removed from the Board as follows:

(1) A member of the Board appointed from the Congress may be removed by the appointing authority for malfeasance in office, persistent neglect of duties, or inability to discharge duties.

(2) A member of the Board appointed by the President may be removed by the President, upon the recommendation of ten members of the Board, for malfeasance in office, persistent neglect of duties, or inability to discharge duties. A recommendation may be made only pursuant to action taken at a meeting of the Board, which may be closed pursuant to the procedures of subsection (i). Only members who are present may vote. A record of the vote shall be maintained. The President shall be informed immediately by the Board of the recommendation. If the President removes the member, the President shall nominate a successor pursuant to subsection (e).

(h) No member of the Board may participate in any decision, action, or recommendation with respect to any matter which directly and financially benefits the member or pertains specifically to any public body or any private or nonprofit firm or organization with which the member is then formally associated or has been formally associated within a period of two years.

(i) Meetings of the Board shall be conducted as follows:

(1) The President shall stipulate by name the nominee who shall be the first Chairman of the Board. The first Chairman shall serve for a term of three years. Thereafter, the Board shall elect a Chairman every three years from among the directors appointed by the President and may elect a Vice Chairman if so provided by the Academy's bylaws.

(2) The Board shall meet at least semiannually, at any time pursuant to the call of the Chairman or as requested in writing to the Chairman by at least five members of the Board, and as may be provided by the bylaws of the Academy not inconsistent with this Act. A majority of the members of the Board shall constitute a quorum for any Board meeting.

(3) Upon majority vote of the members of the Board, the Board shall adopt, and may from time to time amend, such bylaws as are necessary for the proper management and functioning of the Academy.

(4) All meetings of the Board shall be open to public observation and shall be preceded by reasonable public notice. Notice in the Federal Register shall be deemed to be reasonable public notice for purposes of the preceding sentence. The Board may close those portions of a meeting, upon a majority vote of its members present and with the vote taken in public session, which are

likely to disclose information likely to affect adversely any ongoing peace proceeding or activity or to disclose information or matters exempted from public disclosure pursuant to subsection (c) of section 552 (b) of title 5 of the United States Code.

(j) A director appointed by the President shall be entitled to receive the daily equivalent of the annual rate of basic pay in effect for grade GS-18 of the General Schedule in section 5332 of title 5 of the United States Code for each day during which the director is engaged in the performance of duties as a member of the Board.

(k) While away from his home or regular place of business in the performance of duties for the Academy, a director shall be allowed travel expenses, including a per diem in lieu of subsistence, not to exceed the expenses allowed persons employed intermittently in Government service under section 5703 (b) of title 5 of the United States Code.

OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE ACADEMY

Sec. 7. (a) The Board shall appoint the president of the Academy and such other officers as the Board determines to be necessary. The president shall be a nonvoting ex officio member of the Board. All officers shall serve at the pleasure of the Board. The president shall be appointed for an explicit term of years. Notwithstanding any other provision of law limiting the payment of compensation, the president and other officers appointed by the Board shall be compensated at rates determined by the Board, but no greater than those provided for by level I of the Executive Schedule of chapter 53 of title 5, United States Code.

(b) The Board shall authorize the president and any other officials or employees it designates to receive and disburse public and private moneys, obtain and make grants, enter into contracts, establish and collect fees, issue certificates and other honorifics, and undertake all other activities necessary for the efficient and proper functioning of the Academy.

(c) The president, subject to Academy bylaws and general policies established by the Board, may appoint, fix the compensation of, and remove such employees of the Academy as the president determines necessary to carry out the purposes of the Academy. In determining employee rates of compensation, the president shall be guided by the provisions of title 5, United States Code, relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates.

(d) The president may request the assignment of any Federal officer or employee to the Academy by an appropriate department, agency, or congressional official or Member of Congress and may enter into agreement for the assignment, provided the affected officer or employee agrees to the assignment and the assignment causes no prejudice to the salary, benefits, status, or advancement within the department, agency, or congressional staff of the officer or employee.

(e) No officer or full-time employee of the Academy may receive any salary or other compensation for services from any source other than the Academy during the officer's or employee's period of employment by the Academy, except as authorized by the Board.

(f) Officers and employees of the Academy shall not be considered officers and employees of the Federal Government except for purposes of the provisions of title 28, United States Code, which relate to Federal tort claims liability, and the following provisions of title 5 of the United

States Code: subchapter I of chapter 81 (relating to compensation for work injuries); chapter 83 (relating to civil service retirement); chapter 87 (relating to life insurance); and chapter 89 (relating to health insurance). The Academy shall make contributions at the same rates applicable to agencies of the Federal Government under the provisions of title 5 referred to in this section.

(g) No part of the income or assets of the Academy or of any legal entity created by the Academy shall inure to any agent, employee, officer, or director or be distributable to any such person during the life of the corporation or upon dissolution or final liquidation. Nothing in this section may be construed to prevent the payment of reasonable compensation for services or expenses to the directors, officers, employees, and agents of the Academy in amounts approved in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

(h) The Academy shall not make loans to its directors, officers, employees, or agents, or to any legal entity created by the Academy. A director, officer, employee, or agent who votes for or assents to the making of a loan or who participates in the making of a loan shall be jointly and severally liable to the Academy for the amount of the loan until repayment thereof.

PROCEDURES AND RECORDS

Sec. 8. (a) The Academy shall monitor and evaluate and provide for independent evaluation if necessary of programs supported in whole or in part under this Act to ensure that the provisions of this Act and the bylaws, rules, regulations, and guidelines promulgated pursuant to this Act are adhered to.

(b) The Academy shall prescribe procedures to ensure that grants, contracts, and financial support under this Act are not suspended unless the grantee, contractor, or person or entity receiving financial support has been given reasonable notice and opportunity to show cause why the action should not be taken.

(c) In selecting persons to participate in Academy activities, the Academy may consider a person's practical experience or equivalency in peace study and activity as well as other formal requirements.

(d) The Academy shall keep correct and complete books and records of account, including separate and distinct accounts of receipts and disbursements of Federal funds and of non-Federal funds. The Academy's annual financial report shall identify the use of each source of funding and shall present a clear description of the full financial situation of the Academy. Nothing in this section prevents the Academy from using Federal and non-Federal funds together in any grant, contract, program, or other expenditure of the Academy consistent with this Act.

(e) The Academy shall keep minutes of the proceedings of its Board and of any committees having authority under the Board.

(f) The Academy shall keep at its principal office a record of the names and addresses of its Board members; copies of this Act, of any other Acts relating to the Academy, and of all Academy bylaws, rules, regulations, and guidelines; required minutes of proceedings; a record of all applications and proposals and issued or received contracts and grants; and financial records of the Academy. All items required by this subsection may be inspected by any Board member or the member's agent or attorney for any proper purpose at any reasonable time.

(g) The accounts of the Academy shall be audited annually in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards by independent certified public accountants or independent licensed public accountants, certified or licensed by a regulatory authority of a State or other political subdivision of the United States. The audit shall be conducted at the place or places where the accounts of the Academy are normally kept. All books, accounts, financial records, files, and other papers, things, and property belonging to or in use by the Academy and necessary to facilitate the audit shall be made available to the person or persons conducting the audit, and full facilities for verifying transactions with the balances or securities held by depositories, fiscal agents, and custodians shall be afforded to such person or persons.

(h) The Academy shall provide a report of the audit to the President of the United States and to each House of Congress no later than six months following the close of the fiscal year for which the audit is made. The report shall set forth the scope of the audit and include such statements, together with the independent auditor's opinion of those statements, as are necessary to present fairly the Academy's assets and liabilities, surplus or deficit, with reasonable detail, including a statement of the Academy's income and expenses during the year including a schedule of all contracts and grants requiring payments in excess of $5,000 and any payments of compensation, salaries, or fees at a rate in excess of $5,000 per annum. The report shall be produced in sufficient copies for the public.

(i) The Academy and its directors, officers, employees, and agents shall be subject to the provisions of section 552 of title 5, United States Code (relating to freedom of information).

INDEPENDENCE AND LIMITATIONS

Sec. 9. (a) Except as otherwise provided in this Act, the Academy shall not be considered a department, agency, or instrumentality of the Federal Government. Nothing in this Act may be construed as limiting the authority of the Office of Management and Budget to review and submit comments on the Academy's budget request at the time it is transmitted to the Congress.

(b) No political test or political qualification may be used in selecting, appointing, promoting, or taking any other personnel action with respect to any officer, employee, agent, or recipient of Academy funds or services or in selecting or monitoring any grantee, contractor, person, or entity receiving financial assistance under this Act.

FUNDING

Sec. 10. (a) For the purpose of purchasing a principal office and other buildings and grounds for the legal entity authorized to be established under section 4 (e), and the Academy's Center, offices, schools, and other facilities in and within easy reach of the District of Columbia and necessary to carry out this Act, there are authorized to be appropriated to the Academy a buildings and grounds capitalization fund of $15,000,000 which shall remain available to the Academy without regard to fiscal year limitations.

(b) For the purposes of establishing the structure and programs and administering the affairs of the Academy, there are authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1983, $6,000,000; for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1984, $10,000,000; for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1985, $15,000,000; and for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1986, $20,000,000. Moneys authorized to be appropriated and appropriated for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1983, shall remain available to the Academy through the fiscal year ending September 30, 1984.

(c) The Board of Directors may transfer to the legal entity authorized to be established under section 4 (e) any funds not obligated or expended from appropriations to the Academy for a fiscal year, and such funds shall remain available for obligation or expenditure for the purposes of such legal entity without regard to fiscal year limitations. Any transfer to such legal entity of appropriated funds shall be reported to each House of the Congress and to the President of the United States.

DISSOLUTION OR LIQUIDATION

Sec. 11. Upon dissolution or final liquidation of the Academy or of any legal entity created pursuant to this Act, all income and assets of the corporation or other legal entity shall revert to the Treasury of the United States.

Appendix B

Public Law 95-561: Education Amendments of 1978, Title XV -- Part B*

ESTABLISHMENT

Sec. 1511: There is established a commission to be known as the Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution.

Duties of Commission

Sec. 1512. (a) The Commission shall undertake a study to consider --

(1) whether to establish a National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution;

(2) the size, cost, and location of an Academy;

(3) the effects which the establishment of an Academy would have on existing institutions of higher education;

(4) the relationship which would exist between an Academy and the Federal Government;

(5) the feasibility of making grants and providing other forms of assistance to existing institutions of higher education in lieu of, or in addition to, establishing an Academy; and

(6) alternative proposals, which may or may not include the establishment of an Academy, which would assist the Federal Government in accomplishing the goal of promoting peace.

(b) In conducting the study required by subsection (a), the Commission shall --

(1) review the theory and techniques of peaceful resolution of conflict between nations; and

(2) study existing institutions which assist in resolving conflict in the areas of international relations.

Membership

Sec. 1513. (a) The Commission shall be composed of nine members as follows --

(1) three appointed by the President pro tempore of the Senate;

(2) three appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives; and

(3) three appointed by the President.

(b) Members shall be appointed for the life of the Commission.

(c) A vacancy in the Commission shall be filled in the manner in which the original appointment was made.

(d) (1) Except as provided in paragraph (2), members of the Commission each shall be entitled to receive the daily equivalent of the annual rate of basic pay in effect for grade GS-18 of the General Schedule (5 U.S.C. 5332) for each day during which they are engaged in the actual performance of the duties of the Commission.

(2) Members of the Commission who are full-time officers or employees of the United States or Members of the Congress shall receive no additional pay on account of their service on the Commission.

(3) While away from their homes or regular places of business in the performance of services for the Commission, members of the Commission shall be allowed travel expenses, including a per diem in lieu of subsistence, in the same manner as persons employed intermittently in the Government service are allowed expenses under section 5703(b) of title 5, United States Code.

(e) The Commission shall elect a Chairman and a Vice Chairman from among its members.

(f) Five members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum.

(g) The Commission shall meet at the call of the Chairman or a majority of its members.

Director and Staff of Commission; Experts and Consultants

Sec. 1514. (a) Subject to such rules as may be adopted by the Commission, the Chairman, without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service and without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates, shall have the power to --

(1) appoint a Director who shall be paid at a rate not to exceed the rate of basic pay in effect for level V of the Executive Schedule (5 U.S.C. 5316);

(2) appoint and fix the compensation of such staff personnel as he considers necessary; and

(3) procure temporary and intermittent services to the same extent as is authorized by section 3109(b) of title 5, United States Code.

(b) Upon request of the Commission, the head of any Federal agency is authorized to detail, on a reimbursable basis, any of the personnel of such agency to the Commission to assist it in carrying out its duties under this title.

Powers of Commission

Sec. 1515. (a) The Commission may, for the purpose of carrying out this title, hold such hearings, sit and act at such times and places, take such testimony, and receive such evidence as the Commission considers advisable. The Commission may administer oaths and affirmations to witnesses appearing before the Commission.

(b) When so authorized by the Commission, any member or agent of the Commission may take such action which the Commission is authorized to take by this section.

(c) The Commission may secure directly from any Federal agency information necessary to enable it to carry out this title. Upon request of the Chairman, the head of any such Federal agency shall furnish such information to the Commission.

Reports

Sec. 1516. The Commission shall transmit to the President and to each House of the Congress such interim reports as it considers appropriate and shall transmit a final report to the President and to each House of the Congress not later than one year after the date on which appropriations first become available to carry out this title. The final report shall contain a detailed statement of the findings and conclusions of the Commission, together with its recommendations for such legislation as it considers appropriate.

Termination

Sec. 1517. The Commission shall cease to exist sixty days after transmitting its final report under section 1516.

Authorization of Appropriations

Sec. 1518. There is authorized to be appropriated not to exceed $500,000 to carry out this title.

Definitions

Sec. 1519. For purposes of this title --

(1) the term "Academy" means the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution;

(2) the term "Chairman" means the Chairman of the Commission elected under section 1513(e);

(3) the term "Commission" means the Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of

Peace and Conflict Resolution and

(4) the term "Federal agency" means any agency, department, or independent establishment in the executive branch of the Federal Government, including any Government corporation.

* Signed into law on the first day of November 1978; appropriation authorized: $500,000.

Appendix C

Biographies of Commissioners

SPARK M. MATSUNAGA, CHAIRMAN

Senator (D-Hawaii) since 1976. Member, House of Representatives, 1962 - 1976. Member, Senate Committees on Energy and Natural Resources, Finance, and Veterans Affairs. Chief Deputy Democratic Whip. University of Hawaii, Ed.B.; Harvard Law School, J.D. Distinguished military career, retiring from the Army Reserve with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. Author, RULEMAKERS OF THE HOUSE (with Ping Chen; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976); required reading in political science and government study courses in 30 American universities.

JAMES H. LAUE, VICE CHAIRMAN

Director, Center for Metropolitan Studies, and Associate Professor of Sociology, University of Missouri-St. Louis. Harvard University, Ph.D. Authority in the field of racial and community conflict resolution. Author of a number of monographs, articles, and training exercises. Former Director of Program Development for the Community Relations Service of the United States Department of Justice. Active as a practitioner and trainer, including current involvement as mediator in the Negotiated Investment Strategy project in Gary, Indiana.

JOHN M. ASHBROOK

Member, House of Representatives (R-Ohio) since 1960. Member, House Committees on Education and Labor, Judiciary, and Select Intelligence (oversight of CIA, FBI, NSA and Defense Intelligence Agencies). Harvard College, B.S.; Ohio State School of Law, J.D.; Ashland College, Honorary L.L.D. Publisher of the "Johnstown Independent" and three other central Ohio weekly newspapers. Recipient of the Freedom Award from the Order of Lafayette in 1970 for "Outstanding Leadership in Combatting World Communism."

ARTHUR H. BARNES

Since 1975, President, New York Urban Coalition, a group serving as a "catalytic force in bringing the resources of the private sector to bear on the problems of disadvantaged minorities in New York City." Formerly Vice President, Institute for Mediation and Conflict Resolution, an organization which mediates community disputes and teaches techniques of mediation, negotiation, and arbitration. Previously associated with Consolidated Insurance Companies for 21 years.

ELISE BOULDING

Chair of the Sociology Department, Dartmouth College. From 1967 to 1978 at the Department of Sociology and the Institute of Behavioral Science at the University of Colorado, Boulder. Has undertaken numerous transnational and comparative cross-national studies on conflict and peace, development, family life, and women in society. Works internationally on problems of peace and world order both as a scholar and an activist. Currently secretary of the Program Advisory Council of the United Nations University's Human and Social Development Program and a member of the

United States Commission for UNESCO. Author of eight books and over 70 articles, pamphlets, and chapters in the areas of sociology and conflict/peace studies.

JOHN R. DELLENBACK

President, Christian College Consortium and Coalition, Washington, D.C. Former Member, House of Representatives (R-Oregon), Director of the United States Peace Corps, college professor, practicing lawyer, and Naval officer. Serves on the Boards of Trustees of Howard University and Lewis and Clark College. Yale University, B.S., Phi Beta Kappa; University of Michigan Law School, J.D. Holds honorary degrees from Biola College, Friends University, New Haven University, Warner Pacific College, and Lane Community College.

JOHN P. DUNFEY

Founder and President of the Dunfey Hotels Corporation, operating 23 hotels in the United States and Europe; industrial developer, Maine and New Hampshire. Representative, African Trade Mission, Department of State, September 1979; Member, National Committee, "Americans for SALT II," to develop public support for passage; member of national committee to raise funds and encourage citizen support for Senate approval of Panama Canal Treaty.

DAN GLICKMAN

Member, House of Representatives (D-Kansas) since 1976. Member, House Committees on Agriculture, and Science and Technology. Secretary-Treasurer of the 95th Congress Members Caucus and a member of the Congressional Clearinghouse on the Future. The George Washington University, J.D.

Serves on the National Alcohol Fuels Commission, the Domocratic Caucus Ethics Committee, the Democratic Study Group, and the Environmental Study Conference.

WILLIAM F. LINCOLN

Director, Center for Collaborative Planning and Community Services, Watertown, MA. Former Director, New England Office of Community Dispute Services of the American Arbitration Association, Boston. Professional practitioner in resolving disputes related to public schools, special education, school desegregation, adult correctional facilities, public housing, Native American affairs, anti-discrimination agencies, and community development. Lecturer, Harvard University Graduate School of Design, Department of City and Regional Planning; academic conference leader at Harvard and Antioch Law Schools.

Appendix D

The Commission Process

The United States Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution was created by the Congress and the President to study means for the Federal government to achieve more effectively the Nation's goal of promoting peace, with special attention to be paid to the utility of establishing a National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution. The Commission was committed to encouraging the widest possible range of discussion on this important subject and conducted a series of activities designed to ensure a variety of expert and public input.

INTRODUCTION

The Commission determined that the successful completion of its mandated study to be submitted to the Congress and the President would require a review of existing material on international peace and conflict resolution, meetings with experts in the field, and a series of national public forums. These activities would provide visibility for Commission efforts and valuable opportunities for specialists and the general public to exchange ideas with Commissioners and staff.

In March 1980, the Commission issued a staff design paper which set out two principal vehicles for performing the Commission's mandated study: a series of research projects and a public seminar program. With its plan and commitment to public participation, the Commission began its research and public outreach.

RESEARCH

The Commission hypothesized that, although a body of theory and practice in the field of peace learning has been developed over the last two decades, the field lacked resources and clear institutional framework and was thus inhibited in its scholarly and policy impact. The Commission decided early that its research efforts should focus on reviewing contemporary theory and practice of peacemaking and conflict resolution at the community, regional, national, and international levels to determine the quality of research in the field and how these studies might be strengthened and applied to policy planning.

Seven basic research areas were identified for literature review and discussion with specialists:

(1) violence and conflict in the United States and elsewhere in the world
(2) strategies and techniques of peacemaking and conflict resolution;
(3) agencies and organizations active in teaching peacemaking and conflict resolution;
(4) development of the field of peace and conflict research;
(5) ethical and value considerations in peacemaking;
(6) the role of research and of participants in a peace academy in

American society and the world; and
(7) institutional frameworks for
the conduct of teaching and research on peacemaking.

Literature review was enhanced by discussions with experts and practitioners in the field. As in all Commission activities, persons with a range of attitudes toward various academy ideas--from strong support to skepticism to vigorous opposition--were included.

PUBLIC SEMINAR PROGRAM

The Commission's public seminar program was developed to provide Commissioners and staff with direct input from expert witnesses and the public on questions involving creation of a peace academy and possible alternatives. The Commission concluded that a public seminar program that extended to all regions of the country could solicit the broadest range of views from experts and others on a "National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution" and could stimulate general public interest in the Commission's mandate. The Commission's unique public seminar program met both these goals.

An innovative format was designed. It retained the traditional public hearing aspects of formal testimony from invited witnesses and was expanded to provide further opportunities for public debate. Thus, portions of each seminar were dedicated to discussion in small groups open to all participants. Participants also were encouraged to present their views to the Commission during a designated "open mike" period. This expanded public hearing format, allowing unusually extensive public participation, became a "public seminar."

Under the public seminar program, twelve events were planned and executed in cities across the

United states between March 9 and July 23, 1980. The sites were selected because they represented regions of the Nation with specific concerns relating to the Commission's work. The Commission agreed that a minimum of three of its nine members would be present at each seminar to insure that opinions would be fully heard and explored, then and later. Transcripts were made of all proceedings, except in Tallahassee, where Commissioners and staff took detailed notes. In 1980, public seminars were held in:

Boulder, Colorado--
  March 10
Portland, Oregon--
  April 8-9
St. Louis, Missouri--
  April 21-22
Columbus, Ohio--
  May 5-6
Los Angeles, California--
  May 12-13
Boston, Massachusetts--
  June 2-3
Dallas, Texas--
  June 6-7
New York, New York--
  June 16-17
Atlanta, Georgia--
  June 23-24
Tallahassee, Florida--
  June 25
Honolulu, Hawaii--
  July 7-8
Washington, D.C.--
  July 22-23

Within each of the twelve regions, a regional coordinator was contacted to help the Commission plan the seminar, to provide access to key local groups, and to identify potential witnesses in the communities having expertise in local, regional, national, and international peace and conflict issues. After Boulder, the one-day agenda was enlarged to two days at each site to increase the possible number of witnesses and to provide the "open mike" session. Special letters of invitation and background materials were sent out prior to each seminar to approximately 850 diverse individuals identified by Commissioners, staff, and national and regional contacts. During the year, approximately 10,000 individuals were contacted and invited to be involved in the Commission's public seminars.

Each public seminar was divided into sessions of expert witness testimony, guest speakers, small group discussions and reports, and "open mike" testimony. Witness lists were carefully developed by Commissioners, staff, and regional coordinators. Expert witnesses were chosen because they had special experience in peacemaking and conflict resolution or represented a significant interest group whose views were likely to be valuable to the Commission's work. A special effort was made to include witnesses who were skeptical or opposed to the concept of a peace academy as well as those who were supportive.

Individuals were invited from a wide range of backgrounds and experiences, including international affairs, labor, business, state and local governments, community and ethnic organizations, academia, religious organizations, the legal system, and civil and human rights organizations. Witnesses were asked to deliver a short summary statement and to be prepared for a question and answer period with Commissioners. In their statements, witnesses were asked to describe their backgrounds in peacemaking and conflict resolution and to discuss whether a "National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution" should be established federally, with supporting reasons; possible models; and alternatives to an academy. Witnesses were also invited to submit written statements that enlarged upon their views. When requested by any Commissioner, guest speakers were selected and encouraged to prepare a longer statement responding to the same questions.

The small groups section of the public seminar program was designed to encourage discussion and direct community views on the Commission's questions. All seminar attendees were urged to sign up for one of a number of small groups, identified by topical area: for example, Energy, Environmental, and Economic Conflicts; Peace Studies and Peace Research; Civil Rights and Human Rights; Conflict Resolution and Mediation; and the Role of International Governmental and NonGovernmental Organizations in Peace and Conflict Resolution between Nations. These headings were selected as a means to group people by interest, but were not to restrict the topics of discussion. Group discussion leaders were trained at each site to facilitate the process. Leaders were asked to initiate debate on discussion questions and to ask participants to identify possible inadequacies of existing resources involved in peace and conflict resolution; the manner in which a peace academy or other alternatives could respond to these inadequacies; and useful directions for the Commission. A brief report describing the overall views and key ideas of each group discussion was prepared by each small group and presented to the Commissioners as part of the official record.

The "open mike" session of each seminar was designed to provide an additional forum for the public to make its views known to the Commission. The public was invited to present a brief statement before the Commissioners as part of the Commission record. Commissioners took testimony from all who wished to offer it during this period, often staying several hours beyond the time for formal adjournment until everyone was heard.

During the course of each seminar, the Commission also encouraged the public to submit written statements to it. Many of these written statements and other unsolicited testimony came to the Commission as a result of the publicity surrounding each seminar of Commission event. A nationally syndicated editorial or article in a regional paper describing the Commission's work characteristically brought numerous letters and statements from the public discussing concepts for a peace academy. The response to a call for public debate on the Commission's mandate was gratifying. In addition to material from its formal seminar process, the Commission received thousands of written statements, solicited and unsolicited, from across the Nation.

The public seminars thus provided for maximum public participation in the work of the Commission and successfully brought to bear international,

national, regional, community, organizational, and individual perspectives. The Commission believes its public seminar concept offers an innovative format which could benefit future studies needing wide public participation.

In many of the cities the Commission visited, local citizens organized to give the meetings publicity and to promote public participation. In conjunction with more than half of the public seminars, evening receptions and local news interviews were arranged. Often, in addition to this hospitality, special forums for public dialogue and debate were set up by local host committees. A fascinating experiment in Honolulu, for example, brought four members of the Commission. led by Chairman Spark Matsunaga, to the PEACESAT Network of the University of Hawaii in Honolulu to converse via satellite with six witnesses on Pacific Island nations thousand of miles apart; and in the evening in Columbus, a live Commission discussion allowing for direct viewer feedback on the QUBE Cable TV network supplemented the public seminar.

ADDITIONAL OUTREACH

To obtain maximum input and make the work of the Commission better known, Commissioners and staff held discussions with many individuals and organizations outside the immediate framework of public seminars and research projects. Leadership meetings were held in Washington with representatives of Hispanic and national women's groups and in Atlanta with civil rights leaders. Commissioners and staff participated in meetings of the International Studies Association and the International Society of Political Psychology and visited the United States Air Force Academy at Colorado Springs, the United States Military Academy at West Point, and the United States Naval Academy at

Annapolis to discuss peace academy concepts with administrators and faculty. Formal interviews were held in New York with the United States Delegation to the United Nations, with members of other nations' delegations, and with United Nations and NonGovernmental Organization representatives.

Throughout the year, more than 50 such additional meetings took place, including those with officials of the Department of State, the Foreign Service Institute, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the International Peace Academy, the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, the Community Relations Service of the Department of Justice, the Institute for Mediation and Conflict Resolution, the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Social Change, and the American Arbitration Association.

INTERIM REPORT

At the close of the final public seminar, held July 23 in the Nation's capitol, and after a review of the testimony, summaries, interviews, and research findings compiled during the Commission's first seven months, the Commission considered the first question in its guiding legislation: "whether to establish a National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution." The Commission continued discussion on July 24, then voted to recommend to the President and the Congress the establisnment of the United States Academy of Peace.

The Commission's interim report containing its initial findings and recommendations was presented to President Jimmy Carter, Senate President Pro Tempore Warren Magnuson, and Speaker of the House Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. on September 11, 1980 and then released to Members of Congress, government agencies, and the public.

FINAL MONTHS

In the months following the public seminar program and release of the interim report, the Commission undertook a number of activities aimed at answering the remaining questions in its mandated study. Research and public seminar materials were evaluated to help determine the structure, size, cost, and location of the academy. Additional interviews and meetings were held with experts and educators to obtain their suggestions for creating a successful new federal institution.

To continue public input, the Commission maintained contact with major national nongovernmental organizations, representing religious, educational, minority, business, and women's issues, among others, that also expanded awareness of the Commission's work and findings. These organizations were encouraged to review the interim report, to inform their membership, and to respond with comments. The Commission also sent the interim report to heads of government agencies seeking their input.

Finally, research and discussion were directed at developing specific legislative recommendations for the proposed United States Academy of Peace. This legislation has been carefully drafted to ensure the Academy will be legally and structurally sound and that it can meet the peace needs the Commission identified for it.

ARCHIVES

The complete records of the Commission's work and cumulative testimony and research have been provided to the Archives of the United States Government.

Appendix E

Commission Activities and Participant Lists

COMMISSION ACTIVITIES 1979-1980

December 12	Commission Business Meeting Washington, D.C.
December 27-28	Commission Business Meeting Washington, D.C.
January 3-4	Field Operations Planning Meeting* Washington, D.C.
January 10	Commission Business Meeting Washington, D.C.
January 23	National Hispanic Leadership Meeting* Washington, D.C.
February 3-4	National Women's Leadership Meeting* Washington, D.C.
February 4	Commission Briefing Seminar* Commission Business Meeting Washington, D.C.
March 9	Commission Business Meeting Denver, CO

March 10	Public Seminar* Boulder, CO
March 12	Visit to U.S. Air Force Academy* Colorado Springs, CO
March 20	International Studies Association* Los Angeles, CA
April 8-9	Public Seminar* Portland, OR
April 9-10	Research Planning Meeting* Washington, D.C.
April 11	Regional Field Representatives Meeting St. Louis, MO
April 20	Speech by The Honorable Spark M. Matsunaga Lentz International Peace Research Award Dinner St. Louis, MO
April 21-22	Public Seminar* St. Louis, MO
May 5-6	Public Seminar* Columbus, OH
May 12-13	Public Seminar* Los Angeles, CA
June 2-3	Public Seminar* Boston, MA
June 6	International Society for Political Psychology Panel Discussion by International Peacemaking Experts* Boston, MA

June 6-7	Public Seminar* Dallas, TX
June 12-13	Diplomatic/Military Training Meeting* Washington, D.C.
June 14-19	Interviews with United Nations and Other Officials* New York, NY
June 16-17	Public Seminar* New York, NY
June 18	Meeting with the United States Mission to the United Nations* New York, NY
	Luncheon with the United States Ambassadors to the United Nations New York, NY
	Meeting with the International Peace Academy and other Non-governmental Organizations* New York, NY
June 19	Visit to the United States Military Academy* West Point, NY
June 23	Breakfast with The Honorable Andrew Young, former United States Ambassador to the United Nations Atlanta, GA
June 23-24	Public Seminar* Atlanta, GA
June 24	Luncheon with Mrs. Coretta Scott King Atlanta, GA

June 25	Public Seminar* Tallahassee, FL
July 6	Commission Business Meeting Honolulu, HI
July 7-8	Public Seminar* Honolulu, HI
July 7	Consultation Regarding PEACESAT Honolulu, HI
July 22-23	Public Seminar* Washington, D.C.
July 24	Commission Business Meeting Washington, D.C.
September 11	Presentation of Commission Interim Report to President Jimmy Carter, Senate President Pro Tempore Warren Magnuson, and Speaker of the House Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. Washington, D.C.
	Commission Business Meeting Washington, D.C.
September 12	Visit to the U.S. Naval Academy* Annapolis, MD

* List of non-Commission Participants Included

PUBLIC SEMINAR REGIONAL COORDINATORS

Laura D. Blackburne
Institute for Mediation
and Dispute Resolution
New York, NY

Jon K. Brown
Columbus, OH

John T. Conner
Oregon State University
Corvallis, OR

Stuart Cook
Director, Institute for
Behavioral Science
University of Colorado
Boulder, CO

Bruce T. Grindal
Florida State University
Tallahassee, FL

Leon W. Hall
Office of the Mayor
Atlanta, GA

Betty M. Jacob
University of Hawaii
at Manoa
Honolulu, HI

Herman Jenkins
Office of the President
Queens College
Flushing, NY

Russell Rhodes
Director of Operations,
Los Angeles Regional
Family Planning Council
Los Angeles, CA

Phillip Sgroi
St. Louis, MO

George Sommaripa
Cambridge, MA

Rev. Betsy Turecky
Southern Methodist
University
Dallas, TX

ADVISORS

Eugene Martin
Education and Social Change Consultant
Washington, D.C.

Douglas Reichert
Dartmouth College
Hanover, NH

Charles E. Smith
George Mason University
Fairfax, VA

SPECIAL EVENTS AND MEETINGS

Field Operations Planning Meeting
Washington, D.C.
January 3-4, 1980

Jon K. Brown
Columbus, OH

Robert Caughlan
Environmental Protection Agency
Washington, D.C.

Constance Grice
Young Ideas, Inc.
Washington, D.C.

Herman Jenkins
Office of the President
Queens College
Flushing, NY

Rev. Virgil Lattimore
Evanston, IL

Bertram Levine
Community Relations Service
Washington, D.C.

Russell Rhodes
Los Angeles Regional Family Planning Council
Los Angeles, CA

Phillip Sgroi
St. Louis, MO

Charles D. Smith
Select Commission on
Immigration and Refugee
Policy
Washington, D.C.

Wallace Warfield
Community Relations
Service
Washington, D.C.

National Hispanic Leadership Meeting
Washington, D.C.
January 23, 1980

Lupe Anguiano
President, National
Women's Employment and
Education, Inc.
San Antonio, TX

Jacquelyn Darcy
representing Alex
Armendaris
Washington, D.C.

Vilma Espinoza
National Mexican-American
Women's Association
Washington, D.C.

Ana Maria Perera
Chairwoman, National
Association of Cuban-
American Women, Inc.
Washington, D.C.

A.L. Perez
Mexican-American Legal
Defense and Education
Fund
Washington, D.C.

Gilbert Pompa
Director, Community
Relations Service
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Carmen Votaw
Inter-American Commission
on Women Organization
of American States
Washington, D.C.

National Women's Leadership Meeting
Washington, D.C.
February 3-4, 1980

Lupe Anguiano
President, National
Women's Employment and
Education, Inc.
San Antonio, TX

Elise Boulding
Chair, Department of
Sociology
Dartmouth College
Hanover, NH

Mary P. Burke
Center of CONCERN
Washington, D.C.

Marjorie Bell Chambers
Dean, Union for Experimenting Colleges and Universities
Cincinnati, OH

Judith Gaines
Rural American Women
Washington, D.C.

Margaret F. Galey
Staff Consultant
Committee on Foreign Affairs
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

Barbara Good
U.S. Department of State
Washington, D.C.

Elma Henderson
Office of Senator Spark M. Matsunaga
Washington, D.C.

Line Heyniger
Program Officer/Women's Affairs
U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, Department of State
Washington, D.C.

Herman Jenkins
Office of the President
Queens College
Flushing, NY

Iris Mitgang
Chair, National Women's Political Caucus
Walnut Creek, CA

Betty Reardon
Highland Hall
Rye, NY

Ada Sanchez
Coalition for a Nonnuclear World
Washington, D.C.

Bernice Sandler
Project on the Status and Education of Women
Association of American Colleges
Washington, D.C.

Nancy Averett Seelye
American Association of University Women
Washington, D.C.

Carolyn Stephenson
Peace and World Order Studies
Colgate University
Hamilton, NY

Judith Torney
Department of Psychology
University of Illinois
Chicago, IL

Jo Uehara-Missler
YWCA National Board
Washington, D.C.

Leneice Wu
Congressional Research
Services
Library of Congress
Foreign Affairs and
National Defense
Washington, D.C.

Commission Briefing Seminar
Washington, D.C.
February 4, 1980

Maj. Gen. George Keegan
(ret.)
Former Chief, Air Force
Intelligence
Editor, STRATEGIC REVIEW
Washington, D.C.

Betty Goetz Lall
Faculty, International
Peace Academy and
Cornell University
New York State School
of Industrial and
Labor Relations
New York, NY

Donald McNemar
Associate Professor of
Government
Darmouth College
Hanover, NH

Ronald Walters
Professor of Political
Science
Howard University
Washington, D.C.

Visit to the United States Air Force Academy
Colorado Springs, CO
March 12, 1980

Lt. General K.L. Tallman
Superintendent, United
States Air Force
Academy

Brig. General William
A. Orth
Dean of the Faculty

Col. John Wittry
Vice Dean of the Faculty

International Studies Association
Los Angeles, CA
March 20, 1980

Elise Boulding
Chair, Department of Sociology
Dartmouth College
Hanover, NH

Kenneth Boulding
Institute of Behavioral Science
University of Colorado
Boulder, CO

Research Planning Meeting
Washington, D.C.
April 9-10, 1980

Edward Azar
University of North Carolina
Durham, NC

Charles Chatfield
Wittenberg University
Springfield, OH

Jerome Frank
Henry Phipps Psychiatric Clinic
Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore, MD

Corky Gonzales
Denver, CO

Neil Katz
Director, Program in Nonviolent Conflict and Change
Syracuse University
Syracuse, NY

Herbert Kelman
Harvard Center for International Affairs
Harvard University
Cambridge, MA

James Kittelson
Department of History
Ohio State University
Columbus, OH

Mieczslaw Maneli
Center for the Study of Ethics and Public Policy
Queens College
Flushing, NY

Eugene Martin
Education and Social Change Consultant
Washington, D.C.

Betty Reardon
Highland Hall
Rye, NY

Stephen Sawyer
University of Maryland
College Park, MD

Charles D. Smith
Select Commission on
Immigration and
Refugee Policy
Washington, D.C.

Charles E. Smith
George Mason University
Fairfax, VA

Barbara Stanford
Buffalo, NY

Ronald Walters
Department of Political
Science
Howard University
Washington, D.C.

Roland Warren
The Heller School
Brandeis University
Waltham, MA

Dudley Weeks
Director, Programs and
Planning
Overseas Education Fund
Washington, D.C.

Lawrence D. Weiler
Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

Leneice Wu
Foreign Affairs and
National Defense
Library of Congress
Congressional Research
Services
Washington, D.C.

Dina Zinnes
International Policy
Studies
Indiana University
Bloomington, IN

International Society for Political Psychology
Panel Discussion
Boston, MA
June 6, 1980

John Burton
Centre for the Analysis
of Conflict
Rutherford College
University of Canterbury
Kent, England

Roger Fisher
Samuel Williston
Professor of Law
Harvard Law School
Cambridge, MA

Herbert Kelman
Harvard Center for International Studies
Harvard University
Cambridge, MA

Bryant Wedge
Coordinator of Project on Conflict Management
George Mason University
Fairfax, VA

Diplomatic/Training Meeting
Washington, D.C.
June 12-13

William Carey
Executive Director
American Association for the Advancement of Science
Washington, D.C.

Brig. General John Johns
National Defense University
Washington, D.C.

Gene Lyons
Dartmouth College
Hanover, NH

Ed Mainland
Coordinator
Foreign Service Institute
Washington, D.C.

Charles Moskos
Northwestern University
Evanston, IL

Laurence Radway
Dartmouth College
Hanover, NH

Burt Sapin
Dean, George Washington University
Washington, D.C.

J. David Singer
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, MI

Jeremy Stone
Director, American Federation of Scientists
Washington, D.C.

Col. John Wittry
Vice Dean of Faculty
U.S. Air Force Academy
Colorado Springs, CO

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Interviews with United Nations and Other Officials
New York, NY
June 14-19, 1980

Angus Archer
Non-Governmental Organizations Liaison
Division for Economic and Social Information
United Nations
New York, NY

Gerardo Bolanos
Costa Rican Mission to the United States
New York, NY

Liviu Bota
Special Assistant for the Assistant Secretary-General
Center for Disarmament
Department of Political and Security Council Affairs
United Nations
New York, NY

William B. Buffum
Under Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs
United Nations
New York, NY

Carlos Casap
Chief, Regional Affairs
Department of Political and Security Council Affairs
United Nations
New York, NY

Allesandro Corradini
Center for Disarmament
Department of Political
United Nations
New York, NY

Pat Csillig
Director and Chief, Committee and Conference Services Section
Department of Political and Security Council Affairs
United Nations
New York, NY

Claire de Hedervary
Chief, Pacific Settlements and Political Assessments
Department of Political and Security Affairs
United Nations
New York, NY

Abdulrahim A. Farah
Under Secretary General for Special Political Questions and Coordinator, Special Economic Assistance Programs
Office for Special Political Questions
United Nations
New York, NY

Elizabeth Jelstrup
Principal Officer
Office of the Director
Department of Political and Security Council Affairs
United Nations
New York, NY

Ambassador Abdul Koroma
Sierra Leone Mission to the United Nations

George Lansky
Field Operations
United Nations
New York, NY

Wolfgang Lucas
Assistant Director
Department of Planning
United Nations
New York, NY

Fou-tchin Lui
Director and Deputy to the Under Secretariat General for Special Political Affairs
United Nations
New York, NY

John A. Miles
Director, New York Liaison Office
United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
United Nations
New York, NY

John Mroz
Executive Vice President
International Peace Academy
New York, NY

Gerhard O.W. Mueller
Chief of Branch
Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch
Department of International Economic and Social Affairs
United Nations
New York, NY

Macaire Pedanou
Principal Officer
Executive Officer of the Secretary-General
United Nations
New York, NY

Herbert Reis
Legal Division
United States Mission to the United Nations

Robert Rosenstock
Legal Division
United States Mission to the United Nations

Amada Segarra
Chief, Treaties and Resolution Section
Department of Political and Security Council Affairs
United Nations
New York, NY

Hisaki Shimura
First Officer
Office of the Under Secretariat General for Special Political Affairs
United Nations
New York, NY

James Sutterlin
Director, Political Affairs Division
Department of Political and Security Affairs
United Nations
New York, NY

Cedric Thornberry
Special Assistant to the United Nations Commissioner for Nambia
Office of the United Nations
New York, NY

Ralph Townley
Secretary, International Commission on the University for Peace
New York, NY

Brian E. Urquhart
Under Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs
United Nations
New York, NY

Meeting with United States Mission
to the United Nations
New York, NY
June 18, 1980

Ambassador Carl McCall
Alternate United States Representative to the United Nations
New York, NY

Ambassador Richard Petree
Deputy United States Representative to the United Nations
New York, NY

Ambassador William Vanden Heuvel
Deputy United States Representative to the United Nations
New York, NY

Meeting with International Peace Academy and Other Organizations

New York, NY
June 18, 1980

Robert Johanson
Institute for World Order
New York, NY

Lowell Livezey
World Without War Council
New York, NY

Wendy Mogey
American Friends Service Committee
Philadelphia, PA

Robert Muller
Secretary of Economic & Social Council of the United Nations
New York, NY

George Sherry
Director, Office for Special Political Affairs
United Nations
New York, NY

Henry Wiseman
Director of Peacekeeping Programs
International Peace Academy
New York, NY

Visit to the United States Military Academy

West Point, NY
June 19, 1980

Lt. Gen. Andrew Goodpaster
Superintendent, United States Military Academy

Col. Howard T. Prince, II
Director, Department of Behavioral Science and Leadership

Col. James F. Ranson
Assistant Dean of the Academic Board

Visit to the United States Naval Academy
Annapolis, MD
September 12, 1980

Professor Edward Cook
Assistant Dean of the Faculty

Vice Admiral William P. Lawrence
Superintendent, United States Naval Academy

Rear Admiral Robert W. McNitt (ret.)
Director of Admissions

PUBLIC SEMINARS*

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO
BOULDER, COLORADO
MARCH 10, 1980

Witnesses

Rev. John P. Adams
Director of the Department of Law, Justice and Community Relations
Board of Church and Society of the United Methodist Church
Washington, D.C.

Kenneth Boulding
Distinguished Professor of Economics
University of Colorado
Boulder, CO

David Randall
Program Development Coordinator
Windstar Corporation
New York, NY
Snowmass, CO

John Thomas
Vice President
International Indian Treaty Council
New York, NY

Rev. Richard Williams
Director of the Advisory Task Force
Social and Economic Analysis Corporation
Boulder, CO

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*The lists of Open Mike and Other Public Participants contain only those persons who recorded their names on sign-up sheets.

Small Group Discussion Leaders

Francis Beer
Professor of Political Science
University of Colorado
Boulder, CO

Susan Carpenter
Associate Director
ROMCOE
Boulder, CO

James Dean
Legal Aid Society of Metropolitan Denver
Denver, CO

William Means
President, International Indian Treaty Council
New York, NY

Manuel Salinas
Department of Justice Community Relations Service
Denver, CO

Open Mike and Other Public Participants

Marjorie Baker
Lakewood, CO

Jean M. Bedell
Boulder County Legal Services
Boulder, CO

Kathy Caldwell
University of Colorado
Boulder, CO

Rev. Forrest Andrew Carhartt
St. Andrew Presbyterian Church
Boulder, CO

Linda Castrone
Boulder Daily Camera
Boulder, CO

Jim Chase
Policy Sciences Associates and University of Colorado
Boulder, CO

Ruth A. Correll
Boulder, CO

Don Donahue
Boulder County Legal Services
Boulder, CO

Richard Evarts
Denver Center for Dispute Resolution
Denver, CO

Pat Gilmore
Denver, CO

Joseph W. Hawley
Adams County District #1
Denver, CO

R.W. Hunter
U.S. Air Force Academy
Colorado Springs, CO

Kenneth A. Jaray
Manitou Springs, CO

Ernest R. Jehnsen, Jr.
Grand Junction, CO

Kathryn E. Jehnsen
Holmesville, NB

Rev. Ernest R. Jehnsen, Sr.
Holmesville Church of the Brethren
Holmesville, NB

Ann T. Lanier
Rollinsville, CO

Rob Lanier
Rollinsville, CO

Rev. Don R. Laue
First Congregational Church
Greely, CO

Paula Lippaid
University of Colorado
Boulder, CO

Ed Lyell
Business and Economics Department
Colorado College
Colorado Springs, CO

John Macartney
U.S. Air Force Academy
Colorado Springs, CO

Dorothy Maxwell
Boulder Meeting of Friends
Boulder, CO

Cindy Mitchell
Denver, CO

Jim Mitchell
Denver, CO

Christopher W. Moore
Center for Dispute Resolution
Boulder, CO

Byron Plumley
Cornerstone Justice and Peace Center
Denver, CO

Mary E.F. Schacter
Colorado Springs, CO

Berely C. Sears
Boulder, CO

Pat Sharbinin
Boulder, CO

Lynn M. Smith
Commission on Community Relations
Denver, CO

Sheldon Spiegelman
Boulder, CO

Charles Stromberg
Wheat Ridge, CO

Rev. Paul D. Tiller
First Congregational Church
Greeley, CO

Helen Walker
Boulder, CO

Pat Washburn
Boulder, CO

Paul Wehr
Institute of Behavioral Science
University of Colorado
Boulder, CO

Shirley Hill Witt
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Denver, CO

Elaine Yarbrough
University of Colorado
Boulder, CO

LEWIS AND CLARK COLLEGE
PORTLAND, OREGON
APRIL 8-9, 1980

Witnesses

Ralph Bunch
Political Science Department
Portland State University
Portland, OR

Herbert Cawthorne
Director-Educational Opportunity Program
Portland State University
Portland, OR

Richard Clinton
Associate Dean
College of Liberal Arts
Oregon State University
Portland, OR

John T. Conner
University Pastor
Oregon State University
Corvallis, OR

Robert Lamb
Regional Director
Northwest Region, Community Relations Service
U.S. Department of Justice
Seattle, WA

Shirley Malcolm
Coordinatory-International Studies Center
Lincoln High School
Portland, OR

Eric David Swenson
Director-Global Studies
Oregon State University
Corvallis, OR

Small Group Discussion Leaders

Ralph Bunch
Portland State University
Portland, OR

John T. Conner
Oregon State University
Corvallis, OR

Milton Mapes
National Peace Academy
Campaign
Washington, D.C.

Open Mike and Other Public Participants

George F. Aberle
Lewis & Clark College
Portland, OR

Jean M. Adams
Corvallis, OR

H.P. Adams
Corvallis, OR

Rebecca M. Balogh

Londa Beebe
George Fox College
Newberg, OR

Donald Bishop
Washington State
University
Pullman, WA

Paul T. Bishop
Newberg, OR

Allen Bonney
DuPont, WA

Jan Burkey
George Fox College
Newberg, OR

Helena Calson
Lewis & Clark College
Portland, OR

Janice P. Cate
Bellevue, WA

Debbie Cathers
Newberg, OR

Kelly Clark
Lake Oswego, OR

Kathryn Conner
Corvallis, OR

Bernice E. Cudhie
Seattle, WA

Elizabeth R. Dana
Portland, OR

Robert H. Dill
Portland, OR

Mark Dorsey
Lewis & Clark College
Portland, OR

Jeral Ellingworth

Mrs. Lois Geidt
Bremerton, WA

W.R. Giedt
Bremerton, WA

Joseph E. Haley
University of Portland
Portland, OR

Jeanne Hansen
Seattle, WA

Steven Hayward
Lewis & Clark College
Portland, OR

Michael D. Henderson
Portland, OR

Hazel Hoff Heusser
Portland, OR

Kevin W. Howatt
Lewis & Clark College
Portland, OR

Leonard Hunting
Portland, OR

Clare Kennedy
Corvallis, OR

Judy Kiehm
Lewis & Clark College
Portland, OR

Shirley S. Malcolm
Banks, OR

Jonathan Martin
Blue Mountain Action
Council, Inc.
Walla Walla, WA

Tom McDonald
Lake Oswego, OR

Betsee MacDowell
Salem, OR

Stanley Morrison
Portland, OR

Marvin & Violet Nettleton
Salem, OR

Gus Notwood
Vancover, WA

Daniel W. Portis
Portland, OR

Laura G. Ray
George Fox College
Newberg, OR

Lawrence W. Rathbun
Concord, NH

Alan E. Roberts
Palos Verdes Estates, CA

Virginia R. Robertson
Portland, OR

Eric Robinson
West Linn, OR

Brenda E. Root
George Fox College
Newberg, OR

Karmen Rowe
George Fox College
Newberg, OR

Pat Sitton
Corvallis, OR

Julie Swehla
Newberg, OR

Eric Swenson
Oregon State University

William G. Tacey
Portland, OR

Sarah Thomas
Portland, OR

Marge Van Zante
Portland, OR

Hille Vanderkooy
George Fox College
Newberg, OR

Paul Vogel
Lewis & Clark College
Portland, OR

John S. Whiteneck, Jr.
Beaverton, OR

Mary Elizabeth Wright
Portland, OR

Paul S. Wright
Portland, OR

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI
APRIL 21, 1980

Witnesses

Alfred Fleischer
Managing Partner
Fleischer-Seeger Construction Co.
St. Louis, MO

Ronald Glossop
Chairman, Peace Studies Program
Southern Illinois University
Edwardsville, IL

Jean-Robert Leguey-Feilleux
President of the Peace Research Lab
Professor of International Relations
St. Louis University
St. Louis, MO

Sister Mary Ann McGivern
Director of the Midwest Coalition for Responsible Investments
St. Louis, MO

Hanna Newcombe
Peace Research Institute
Dundas, Ontario, Canada

Frederick Pearson
Associate Professor of Political Science
University of Missouri
St. Louis, MO

Charlotte Shaw
Student Organizer
Drake University
St. Louis, MO

Margaret Sonnenday
Past President of Church Women United in the U.S.A.
St. Louis, MO

Small Group Discussion Leaders

Jean Berg
Director, Displaced Homemakers Program
St. Louis, MO

Pat Dowsing
St. Louis, MO

Beth O'Brien
Central State Region
International Ladies Garment Workers Union
St. Louis, MO

Phillip Sgroi
St. Louis, MO

Rev. Ronald Vail
PUSH
St. Louis, MO

Open Mike and Other Public Participants

Lorraine Angeli
Kirkwood, MO

Arnold H. Bringewatt
St. Louis, MO

Ida Burroughs
Clayton, MO

Bill Eckhardt
St. Louis, MO

Sister Mary Pius Fagan
St. Louis, MO

Burns M. Franklin
Glendale, MO

Lillian A. Franklin
St. Louis, MO

Eugene E. Guttin
St. Louis, MO

Romando Hampton
St. Louis, MO

Thomas E. Jordan
University of Missouri-
St. Louis
St. Louis, MO

Mariann R. Laue
Danforth Foundation
St. Louis, MO

Yvonne Logan
Women's International
League for Peace and
Freedom
St. Louis, MO

Obison B. Looise
St. Louis, MO

William J. Lyons
St. Louis, MO

E. Charles Markman
Richmond Heights, MO

R.R. McCay
St. Louis, MO

Elaine Middendorf
St. Louis, MO

Walt Morgan
Kirkwood, MO

Genevive H. Nelson
St. Louis, MO

Tom Norman
St. Louis, MO

Richard H. Patton
Center for Metropolitan
Studies
University of Missouri-
St. Louis
St. Louis, MO

Pete Piccione
St. Louis, MO

Arnold Reiger
Newton, KS

John M. Roppolo
St. Charles, MO

Mrs. Daniel Schlafly
St. Louis, MO

Rev. Ted Schroeder
St. Louis, MO

Lillian Spears
Lawton, OK

William Steckenberg
St. Louis, MO

Fred Stopsky
Webster Grove, MO

CAPITAL UNIVERSITY
COLUMBUS, OH
MAY 5-6, 1980

Witnesses

Chadwick Alger
Professor of Political
Science and Public
Policy
Mershon Center for
Research and Education
Ohio State University
Columbus, OH

Rev. James L. Bevel
Director of the Coalition
of Organizations and
Churches for Public
Education
East Cleveland, OH

Cassandra Brice
Community Organizer with
the Martin Luther
King Jr. Center
Columbus, OH

Roland Brown
President
Buckeye International
Steel Company
Columbus, OH

Dennis Carey
Acting Director, Center
for Peaceful Change
Kent State University
Kent, OH

William Dennis
Professor of History
Denison University
Granville, OH

James MacNamara
Those United to Fight Facism
Columbus, OH

Alan Millett
Associate Professor and Director, Progam in International Security and Military Affairs
Mershon Center for Research and Education
Ohio State University
Columbus, OH

Kai Schoenhals
Associate Professor of History
Kenyon College
Gambier, OH

Michael Schwarzwalder
State Senator
Columbus, OH

Robert Stamps
Victim of the violence at Kent State University
San Diego, CA

Small Group Discussion Leaders

Rev. Tom Chapman
Community Ministerial Development Conference
Cleveland, OH

Charles Chatfield
Office of International Education
Wittenberg University
Springfield, OH

Lloyd Tom Dillard
Community Advocate
R.G. Barry Corporation
Cleveland, OH

Maire Dugan
Kent State University
Center for Peaceful Change
Kent, OH

Pat Glenn
Community Relations Service
Department of Justice
Chicago, IL

James Huffman
Department of History
Wittenberg University
Springfield, OH

Carolyn Shahan
Columbus, OH

Steve Thulin
Department of History
Kent State University
Kent, OH

Open Mike and Other Public Participants

Eleanor Ackley
Blacklick, OH

Daniel Anderson
Centerburg, OH

Adriane Armount
Delaware, OH

William J. Brennan
Columbus, OH

Mary C. Bridgman
Columbus, OH

Jon K. Brown
Columbus, OH

Mary Ann Carey
Kent, OH

Claudia Cole
Westerville, OH

William C. Dennis
Granville, OH

Rachel A. Duffey
Toledo, OH

Anne M. Dusenbury
Akron, OH

Phil Dusenbury
Akron, OH

Susan Sandell Draper
Delaware, OH

Tom Drizk
Kent, OH

Penny Eltzroth
Wadsworth, OH

Kenneth Frank
Columbus, OH

John Maffee Fund
Columbus, OH

Patricia Campbell Glenn
Chicago, IL

Margaret Glaser
Camden, OH

James Graham, Jr.
Center for Research in
  Social Behavior
Bowling Green State
  University
Bowling Green, OH

Marion Harris
Columbus, OH

Joan Havens
Columbus, OH

Rev. Gary Hilfiger
New Lexinton, OH

Grant Hilliker
Columbus, OH

Richard Hogan
Canal Winchester, OH

M.J. Hutchins
Columbus, OH

Carol Myhre Ipsen
Dayton, OH

Carole A. Kindbroom
Delaware, OH

James Kittleson
Department of History
Ohio State University
Columbus, OH

Amy Kohlberg
Columbus, OH

Eaty Leitch
Cincinnati, OH

Rev. F. Richard Leslie
Portage, PA

Mrs. Sidney Levoff
Columbus, OH

Maggie Lewis
Columbus, OH

Judith Lorei
Kent, OH

Jason Luckenbach
TKE Home
Ohio Wesleyan University
Delaware, OH

Philop J. Marescon
Delaware, OH

Mathew Melko
Department of Sociology
Wright State University
Dayton, OH

Ruth W. Melvin
Carroll, OH

Sharon Minnich
Greensburg, PA

Shirley Palmer
Alezandria, OH

Betty Plank
Columbus, OH

Drew Plesjha
Newton Falls, OH

Jackson Pyles
Columbus, OH

A.A. Quraishi
Columbus, OH

Earl W. Redding
Wilminton, OH

Dorothy Richardson
Columbus, OH

Louise Robinson
Worthington, OH

Glenn J. Royer
Canal Winchester, OH

Mary Ann Sarmir
Kent, OH

Ora Seiss, Jr.
Columbus, OH

Glen Shively
Clayton, OH

Marilyn Smith
McLean, VA

Reed M. Smith
Wright State University
Dayton, OH

Phyllis H. Stoller
Shaker Heights, OH

Janet Stowers
Kent, OH

Lorena Jeanne Tinker
Dayton, OH

Steve Thulin
Kent, OH

Herbert Henry Ward
Columbus, OH

Doris Warren
Beachwood, OH

Lester M. Warren
Beachwood, OH

Robert H. Whealen
Department of History
Ohio University
Athens, OH

CALIFORNIA MUSEUM OF SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY
LOS ANGELES, CA
MAY 12-13, 1980

Witnesses

Martha Alexander
Mass Communication
Instructor
California State
University
North Ridge, CA

Betty Cole
Program Coordinator,
Counter-Militarism
Program
American Friends Service
Committee
Pasadena, CA

J. Henry Glazer
Member of the Board of
Governors
California Maritime
Academy
San Francisco, CA

Ardelphia Hickey
Founding Member, Welfare
Rights Organization
Los Angeles, CA

Daniel Hirsch
Committee to Bridge
the Gap
Los Angeles, CA

Rev. Thomas Kilgore
Pastor, Second Baptist
Church and member,
Peace in City Streets
Los Angeles, CA

Daniel Levinson
Associate Professor of
Family and Community
Medicine
University of Arizona
Tucson, AZ

Richard Livermore
Project Director
RESOLVE: The Center for
Environmental Conflict
Palo Alto, CA

Robert Pryce
Associate Director
Neighborhood Justice
Center
Venice, CA

Small Group Discussion Leaders

Richard Livermore
Palo Alto, CA

Alex J. Norman
Los Angeles, CA

Terry Oleson
Claremont Graduate School
Claremont, CA

Robert Paley
National Peace Education
Fund
Washington, D.C.

Russell Rhodes
Los Angeles Regional
Family Planning Council
Commission Regional
Coordinator
Los Angeles, CA

Open Mike and Other Public Participants

LeRoy G. Allen
Tucson, AZ

Carolyn Anderson
Long Beach, CA

Michael Auer
California State
University/Northridge
Northridge, CA

Alexander Auerbach
Long Beach, CA

Sanderson Beck
World University at Ojai
Oaji, CA

Ruth Bishop
Long Beach, CA

Luba Carleton
San Bernadino, CA

Timothy Chang
Redondo Beach, CA

Protia S. Choi
El Segundo, CA

Claudia Chase
Inglewood, CA

Sharon Clark
Pasadena, CA

Pam Coffan
Thousand Oaks, CA

George W. Cole
Los Angeles, CA

Davis S. Collins
Anaheim, CA

Harold Collins
Long Beach Citizens
for Peace
Long Beach, CA

Marion G. Collins
Anaheim, CA

Zelda D'Angleterre
San Francisco, CA

James E. Dennis
Pacoima, CA

David Edinger
Rosemead, CA

Gilbert Richard Escandon
La Verne, CA

Jean Flores
Long Beach, CA

Chuck Foley
Santa Clara County Human
Relations Committee
San Jose, CA

J. Henry Glazer
San Francisco, CA

Clarence Green
Los Angeles, CA

Claudia E. Green
Welfare Services
Los Angeles, CA

Max Gundy
Long Beach, CA

Edith Haynes
Whittier, CA

Ardelphia Hickey
Welfare Rights
Los Angeles, CA

Eric B. Hoffman
La Mesa, CA

Susan Howell
Thousand Oaks, CA

T.T. Hse
Pasadena, CA

Charles L. Jenson
San Jose, CA

Charles A. Kallander
Sebastopol, CA

Jascha Kessler
University of California/
Los Angeles
Los Angeles, CA

Doug Kruschke
Los Angeles, CA

Mary G. Langford
President, Southern
California Division
United Nations Association-USA
Pasadena, CA

Marcie Lee
Beverly Hills, CA

Daniel Levinson
Tucson, AZ

Gerre Goodman MacInnes
AVIVA Counseling
Cooperative
Dignity/Tucscon
Tucson, AZ

James A. Nailor
Lakewood, CA

Dan T. Nakanishi
Los Angeles, CA

Richard Samuel Paz
Los Angeles, CA

Evelyn M. Pickarts
Pasadena, CA

M. Louis Ramsdell
North Hollywood, CA

Barbara Reynolds
Los Alamitos, CA

Ann Rush
Whittier, CA

Elizabeth C. Salazar
Long Beach CA

Myron P. Schlesinger
Goleta, CA

Elaine W. Schwartz
Pasadena, CA

Ruth V. Spencer
San Gabriel, CA

S.S. Spencer
San Gabriel, CA

E.R. Turner
Lakewood, CA

Helen Turner
Long Beach Area Citizens
for Peace
Long Beach, CA

Edith Waterhouse
Pacific Palisades, CA

Harold Waterhouse
Pacific Palisades, CA

Tom Wedge
Santa Clara, CA

Bonzie Ree Williams
Pasadena, CA

Y. Wu
Chicago, IL

Franklin Zahn
Pomona, CA

GARDNER AUDITORIUM
THE STATE HOUSE
BOSTON, MA
JUNE 2-3, 1980

Witnesses

Louise Bruyn
American Friends Service Committee
Disarmament and Peace Conversion Program
Cambridge, MA

John Burton
Center of Analysis of Conflict
Rutherford College
University of Canterbury
Kent, England

Theodore Elliot, Jr.
Dean, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy
Tufts University
Medford, MA

Cynthia Enloe
Professor of Government
Clark University
Worcester, MA

Richard Fincher
Training Specialist
Department of Education
American Arbitration Association
Chicago, IL

Roger Fisher
Samuel Williston Professor of Law
Harvard Law School
Cambridge, MA

Gen. James Gavin (ret.)
Executive Vice-President
Arthur D. Little, Inc.
Boston, MA

Steven Hochschild
President
International Coins and Currency
Montpelier, VT

Herbert Kelman
Professor of Social Ethics
Harvard University
Cambridge, MA

Melvin King
State Representative
Boston, MA

Jessica Mindlin
Student Organizer
Clark University
Worcester, MA

Richard Pipes
Professor of History
Harvard University
Cambridge, MA

Paula Rayman
Assistant Professor of Sociology
Brandeis University
Waltham, MA

Rev. Edward Rodman
Mission for Minority Communities
Dioceses of Massachusetts
Boston, MA

Gene Sharp
Harvard University
Center for International Affairs
Cambridge, MA

Joseph Short
Executive Director
OXFAM-America
Boston, MA

Rear Adm. Edward F. Welch, Jr.
President
Naval War College
Newport, RI

Richard Wilson
Professor of Political Science
Director of International Programs
Rutgers University
New Brunswick, NJ

Small Group Discussion Leaders

Frank Catangaro
Director, Humanities Foundations
Boston, MA

J. Malcolm Forbes
President, New England Society of History Teachers
Boston, MA

Ewart Guinier
Professor of Afro-American Studies
Harvard University
Cambridge, MA

Ben Kuipers
Assistant Professor
Tufts University
Medford, MA

Paul Walker
Director, Arms Control Program
Union of Concerned Scientists
Boston, MA

Open Mike and Other Public Participants

Kirk Adams
New York, NY

Doris Allen
Children's International
  Summer Village
Casstown, MA

Lucy Apekar
Cambridge, MA

Helen V. Boucek
Seawall, MA

Dennis H. Brown
Arlington, MA

Severyn Bruyn
Department of Sociology
Boston College
Chestnut Hills, MA

John B. Butler
Lexington, MA

Edith Caserta
Boston, MA

Frank Caserta
Boston, MA

Frank Catanzarc
Boston, MA

Larry Dansinger
Newport, ME

Michael J. Furiado
School for International
  Training
East Providence, RI

Ralph B. Gentile
World Research Center
Cambridge, MA

John J. Graham
Boston, MA

Rosalind Gray
Brookline, MA

Sue Green
Allston, MA

Michael Groden
Boston, MA

Ruth Heath
Westport, ME

G. James Inashima
Wojunn, MA

Melva Jimerson
West Barnstable, MA

Cheryl Hollman Keen
Harvard Committee on
  International Studies
Cambridge, MA

Jim Keen
Dorchester, MA

Roy Loyons
Braintree, MA

Walter D. Mott
Beverly, MA

David O'Connor
Brookline, MA

Jack N. Porter
Brookline, MA

Claire E. Reade
Boston, MA

Robert Reed
Watertown, MA

Richard Menton Reilly
Boston, MA

Cathy Rezendes
Arlington, MA

John William Riley
Boston Globe
Boston, MA

Susan Schrank
Waupoun, MA

David D. Schwarz
Carlisle, MA

Joyce Scott
A.L. Nellum Associates
Braintree, MA

Pat Simon
Newton, MA

Peter W. Smith
Boston, MA

Irwin Springer
Boston, MA

Suzanne Stodolski
Salem Mediation Program
Salem, MA

Virginia Suyama
Ellsworth, ME

Judith Thompson
Medford, MA

William B. Watson
Watertown, MA

SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY
DALLAS, TX
June 6-7, 1980

Witnesses

Rev. Aaron Don Black
Director
Martin Luther King Center
Dallas, TX

Carol Buehrens
Citizen's Legal Education
of the State Bar
Dallas, TX

Judge B.F. Coker
County Court of Law
Dallas County
Dallas, TX

James L. Greenstone
Director, Southwestern
Academy of Crisis
Interveners
Dallas, TX

Doris Gunn
Member, Human Relations Commission
Oklahoma City, OK

Rebecca Flores Harrington
Director, United Farm Workers of Texas
AFL-CIO
San Juan, TX

Donn C. Hatcher
American Sales Manager for North America
Claudius-Peters Inc.
Dallas, TX

Carol Ann Potter
Professor of Law
University of Tulsa
Tulsa, OK

Guadalupe Quintanilla
Assistant Provost of Undergraduate Affairs
University of Houston
Houston, TX

Raymond Ramirez
Special Assistant to National President
League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)
San Antonio, TX

Daniel J. Riley
Partner, Rain, Harrell, Young & Doke
Dallas, TX

Rev. Paul A. Stauffer
Executive Director
Greater Dallas Council of Churches
Dallas, TX

Milton Tobian
Southwest Regional Director of the Jewish Committee
Dallas, TX

Rev. DeForrest Wiksten
Professional Counselor in Domestic Human Relations
Dallas, TX

Small Group Discussion Leaders

Isabelle Collora
National Vice-President
Council of Catholic Laity
Dallas, TX

Rev. Robert Cooper
Associate Chaplain
Southern Methodist University
Dallas, TX

Carl Flaxman
Dallas, TX

Juanita Kirby
Dallas, TX

Sharon Leviton
Southwestern Academy for Crisis Interveners
Dallas, TX

Leon J. Tolle
San Antonio, TX

Open Mike and Other Public Participants

Emmie V. Baine
Dallas, TX

Chuck Brandt
Dallas, TX

Tom Brandt
Dallas, TX

E. Ruth Broady
Dallas, TX

Judy Clunds
Fort Worth, TX

Margaret Estes
Dallas, TX

William R. Farmer
Dallas, TX

Doris Clark Gunn
Oklahoma City, OK

Gorden Hall
Dallas, TX

Carter Holland
Fort Worth, TX

Esther Jacobs
Dallas, TX

Ruth B. Kee
Dallas, TX

Frank C. Mabee
Dallas, TX

Tim Matzke
Dallas, TX

Thomas Hudson McKee
Dallas, TX

Jerry M. Miller
Richardson, TX

Marguerite Peters
Dallas, TX

James Rurak
Assistant Professor
Department of Religion
Texas Christian University
Fort Worth, TX

Barbara L. Sanford
Dallas, TX

Roger D. Spotswood
Dallas, TX

Betsy Turecky
Dallas, TX

Edward G. Ward
Dallas, TX

Joan Winn
Dallas County Courthouse
Dallas, TX

CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
NEW YORK, NY
JUNE 16-17, 1980

Witnesses

Peter Ainslie
Peace Field Secretary
Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends
Swarthmore, PA

His Excellency Jose Miguel Alfaro
Vice President of Costa Rica
Chairman of the Costa Rica Presidential Commission on the University of Peace
San Jose, Costa Rica

Daniel Berrigan
Social Activist
New York, NY

Judge William H. Booth
New York Supreme Court
New York, NY

Katherine L. Camp
International President of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
King of Prussia, PA

Ramsey Clark
Former United States Attorney General
New York, NY

Stephen Cohen
Associate Professor of Social Psychology
Graduate Center
City University of New York
New York, NY

Robert Coulson
President, American Arbitration Association
New York, NY

Ann Davidson
Member of the Coalition for US/Iran Understanding
Haverford, PA

Hazel N. Dukes
President, New York State Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Persons
Roslyn Heights, NY

Joseph Fahey
Director, Peace Studies Institute and Professor of Religious Studies
Manhatten College
Bronx, NY

Benjamin B. Ferencz
Former Prosecutor at Nuremberg Trials
New Rochelle, NY

John Garra
Executive Director
Catholic Interracial Council of New York
New York, NY

Britton Harris
Dean of the School of Public and Urban Policy
Professor of Transportation Planning and Public Policy
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, PA

Rev. Jonathon Jacobs
Pastor, Salem Lutheran Church
Flint, MI

Theodore Kheel
Partner, Battle, Fowler, Jaffin, Pierce and Kheel
Chairman of the Board
Institute for Mediation and Conflict Resolution
New York, NY

Lowell Livezey
Executive Vice President
World Without War Council
New York, NY

Mieczyslaw Maneli
Professor of Political Science
Chairman, Center for the Study of Ethics and Public Policy
Queens College
Flushing, NY

Robert Muller
Secretary of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations
New York, NY

Basil A. Paterson
Secretary of State
New York State
Albany, NY

Ambassador Richard Petree
Deputy United States Representatives to the United Nations Security Council
New York, NY

Janis Roze
Professor of Biology
City College of the City University of New York
Director of Research, International Center for Integrated Studies
New York, NY

Howard Rusk
Founder and Director
Institute of Rehabilitation Medicine
New York University Medical Center
New York, NY

Carlos Russell
Executive Director Designate
New York Federation of Urban Organizations and Professor at Brooklyn College
City University of New York
New York, NY

Eliot Skinner
Professor, Department of Anthropology
Columbia University
New York, NY

Karen Talbot
Permanent Representative
United Nations for World Peace Council
New York, NY

Henry Wiseman
Director of Peacekeeping Programs
International Peace Academy
New York, NY

Small Group Discussion Leaders

Morton Bard
City University Graduate Center
New York, NY

Laura Blackburne
Commission Regional Coordinator
New York, NY

Mieczyslaw Maneli
Center for the Study of Ethics and Public Policy
Queens College
Flushing, NY

Sherle Schwenger
New York, NY

Open Mike and Other Public Participants

Kirk Adams
New York, NY

Joseph Aponte
National Urban League, Inc.
Brooklyn, NY

Bill Armstrong
New York, NY

Henry Bass
New Jersey Department of the Public Advocate
Willingboro, NJ

Ann W. Batiuk
Graduate Student
City Univeristy of New York
New York, NY

Naum W. Berg
Progress International
Brooklyn, NY

Norman Bindler
Association of Teachers
of Latin American
Studies
New York, NY

Celia Blei
Queens College
Flushing, NY

Jack J. Blume
Foster Y. Company, Inc.
Bronx, NY

Irene Blumfelden
Igals Dasmara
New York, NY

Benzia Bokse
Queens College
Forest Hills, NY

Caroline W. Braun
Pacem in Terris
Wilmington, DE

Roscoe C. Brown, Sr.
Bronx Community College
City University of New
York
New York, NY

George Cannaris
Young Voter League
New York, NY

Loretta Carey
Fordham University
White Plains, NY

Jeremiah Chafkin
Bronx, NY

Philip Chamberlin
New York, NY

Dierdre Chamland
Institute for Mediation
and Conflict Resolution
New York, NY

P. Dawson Churca
Earth Society Foundation
New York, NY

Salvatore J. Citino
Brooklyn, NY

Betty Cole
Pacem in Terris
Wilmington, DE

Yma Coleman
New York, NY

Mary Connelly
College Point, NY

Harriet A. Connolly
Center for Social
Research
City University of
New York
New York, NY

Derek Cook
Ottawa, Ontario
Canada

Janet Cutler
New York, NY

J. Dahlitz
New York, NY

Conrad Dyer
Brooklyn, NY

Christine Edwards
Collegiate Association
for the Research of
Principles
New York, NY

Martha Epstein
Jamaica, NY

Jim Feher
Sunburst Community Center
New York, NY

K. Felix
United Nations
New York, NY

Gregory Firagd
New York, NY

Laurence Floyd
Alternatives to Violence
Project, Inc.
Brooklyn, NY

Virginia Floyd
Alternatives to Violence
Project, Inc.
Brooklyn, NY

Maura Foley
Queens College
Queens Village, NY

G.M. Gartrelle
New York, NY

Marilyn Geeles
New York, NY

Louis Genevie
International Energy
Organization, Ltd.
New York, NY

Sandra Graff
Global Education
Associates
East Orange, NJ

Florence Grossman
John Jay College of
Criminal Justice
Plainview, NY

Morris Hamburg
NYS Public Employment
Relations
Baldwin, NY

Sister Joan Hart
N.Y. Archdiocese Office
for World Justice
and Peace
New York, NY

Bethamie Horowitz
Graduate Center
City University of
New York
New York, NY

J. Stanley Husid
New Jersey Department
of the Public
Advocate
Trenton, NJ

Jonathan F. Jacobs
Salem Lutheran Church
Flint, MI

Leo Jaffernah
New York, NY

Robert Johansen
Institute for World Order
New York, NY

William H. Johnson, Jr.
Guardians Association
New York Police Department
New York, NY

Bruce D. Kohan
CUNY Graduate School
New York, NY

Patricia Leake
American Friends Service Committee
New York, NY

Mortimer Lipsky
World Constitution and Parliament Association
Lawrence, NY

S. Malliaros
New York, NY

Nury S. Marquez
Woodside, NY

Lorraine Mayfield
Graduate Center
New York, NY

John McConnell
Earth Society Foundation
Brooklyn, NY

Sharon Minick
National Peace Academy Campaign
Washington, D.C.

Michael Mitchelson
Ford Foundation
New York, NY

Bradford Morse
Under Secretary-General
Director, United Nations Development Program
New York, NY

Charlotte Muller
City University of New York
New York, NY

Laura Nagy
Berkeley, CA

Dave Nuttall
WAMS Radio
Wilmington, DE

Bishop John T. O'Connor
Catholic Church Archdiocese of New York
Military Vicarate
New York, NY

Angela O'Gorman
Pax Christi
Kansas City, MO

Jan Oor-Harper
West Park Presbyterian Church
New York, NY

P.J. O'Shea
Bronx, NY

G. Carter Overton
City University Graduate Center
New York, NY

Robert Paley
National Peace Education Fund
Washington, D.C.

Frank Panopoulos
Pax Christi International
New York, NY

Mary Lou Patton
American Humanist Association
New York, NY

John D. Perry
Darien, CT

John David Pleins
Flint, MI

Dennis Redelk
New York, NY

Martin S. Rosen
City University
New York, NY

John P. Rowe
May Fourth Task Force
North Olmstead, OH

Josephine Rubin
National Peace Academy Campaign
New York, NY

Sarah Ryder
Nassau Community College
Lynbrook, NJ

Ahmad-Bey Sayyida
American Friends Service Committee
New York, NY

Nanette Shaw
CUNY Graduate Center
New York, NY

Diane Soles
Scarsdale, NY

Stan Soles
Fairleigh Dickinson College
Teaneck, NJ

Arthur Talmadge
Flushing, NY

R.C. Tash
Mercy College
Dobbs Ferry, NY

Samuels Terry
Graduate School
Flushing, NY

Darrell Turner
Religious News Service
New York, NY

Harriet Valk
Mendenhall, PA

Curtis Van Stuyvesant
Johns Hopkins University
New York, NY

A Vartuli
West Haven, CT

G. Gerena Velentin
Bronx, NY

Charles Vita
Queens College
Flushing, NY

Lindy Washburn
Associated Press
New York, NY

Bryant Wedge
George Mason University
Fairfax, VA

Barbara Westphal
Newark, NJ

Sarah L. Wilkins
New York, NY

S. Wilton
Mercy College
Sommers, NY

Sadie Winslow
CBQM
New York, NY

William L. Wipfler
New York, NY

Martin J. Wisniewski
Ethics and Public Policy Center
Cambria Heights, NY

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. COMMUNITY CENTER
ATLANTA, GA
JUNE 23-24, 1980

Witnesses

Edward M. Abrams
President, Abrams Industries
Atlanta, GA

Eldrin Bell
Deputy Director, Atlanta Bureau of Police Services
Atlanta, GA

Anne Braden
Chairperson, Southern Organizing Committee
Louisville, KY

Rev. Will D. Campbell
Executive Director
Committee of Southern Churches
Atlanta, GA

Rev. Dr. Lawrence Carter
Dean, Martin Luther King,
Jr. Memorial Chapel
Morehouse College
Atlanta, GA

Janet L. Douglas
City of Atlanta Community
Relations Commission
and Committee on the
Status of Women
Atlanta, GA

Sheriff Thomas Gilmore
Greene County, AL

Coretta Scott King
President, Martin Luther
King, Jr. Center for
Social Change
Atlanta, GA

Ethel M. Mathews
President, Welfare
Rights Organization
Atlanta, GA

Laughlin McDonald
Director, Southern
Regional Office
American Civil Liberties
Union
Atlanta, GA

Courtney P. Siceloff
Chairperson, Southeastern
Regional Office
American Friends Service
Committee
Atlanta, GA

Rev. E.J. Wilson
Pastor, African Methodist
Episcopal Church
Wrightsville, GA

Rev. Andrew Young
Former United States
Ambassador to the
United Nations
Atlanta, GA

Small Group Discussion Leaders

John Boone
Former Commissioner,
Massachusetts Department of Corrections
Atlanta, GA

Rev. Edward Brown
Director, Bread for the
World
United Church of Christ
Atlanta, GA

Oleta Fitzgerald
Director, The Children's
Foundation
Atlanta, GA

John Griffin
Former Director, Southern
Educational Foundation
Atlanta, GA

Maria Ladd
Quaker House
Atlanta, GA

Bill Ramsey
Peace Educator
American Friends Service Committee
Atlanta, GA

Matt Robbins
Program Analyst, Water Division
Environmental Protection Agency
Atlanta, GA

Earl Shinholster
Regional Director, NAACP
Atlanta, GA

Open Mike and Other Public Participants

Art Aron
Atlanta, GA

Elaine N. Aron
Atlanta, GA

Catherine Bayer
Atlanta, GA

Alveda King Beal
Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Social Change
Atlanta, GA

Lawrence Bottoms
Atlanta, GA

Karen Brown
Atlanta, GA

Rev. C. Conrad Browne
Atlanta, GA

Clara Brownlee
Atlanta, GA

Vera Chatman
Wrightsville, GA

William E. Chavis
Wrightsville, GA

Rose Clark
Atlanta, GA

Connie Curry
Director, Bureau of Human Services
City of Atlanta
Atlanta, GA

Patricia Daly
Director, Institute of the Black World
Atlanta, GA

Father Joseph Davallo
Atlanta, GA

Mrs. E.L. Davis
Decatur, GA

Libby Davis
Atlanta Association for International Education
Atlanta, GA

Vincent E. Davis
Atlanta, GA

D. D'Guerra
Hempstead, NY

Mary Ann Doe
Stone Mountain, GA

Dwight Ferguson
Atlanta, GA

Irene Ferguson
Atlanta, GA

Muriel Francis
Atlanta, GA

Cheryl Fraracci
Atlanta, GA

Mary B. Fry
Chattanooga, TN

Gene Guerrero
Director, American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia
Atlanta, GA

Emmanuel Hall
Director, Community Affairs
WAGA-TV
Atlanta, GA

Leon Hall
Director, Mayor's Office of Consumer Affairs
Atlanta, GA

Percy Harden
Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Social Change
Atlanta, GA

Valena Henderson
Atlanta, GA

Nita Hinely
Atlanta, GA

Carol Hinton
Atlanta, GA

Mrs. Bachman Hodge
Chattanooga, TN

Darlene Horvath
Atlanta, GA

Jessie Ingram
Atlanta, GA

Stewart A. Jackson
Chaplain, Birmingham Southern College
Birmingham, AL

Bruce Jenkins
Wrightsville, GA

Annie Johnson
Mayor's Office of Consumer Affairs
Atlanta, GA

India Johnson
American Arbitration Association
Atlanta, GA

Young Kang
Korean Association
Stone Mountain, GA

L'Tanya Keith
American Arbitration
Association
Atlanta, GA

Steven Klein
Atlanta, GA

Trygvie Maehlum
Lookout Mountain, TN

Benjamin Mays
President, Atlanta Board
of Education
Atlanta, GA

Rev. Timothy McDonald
Assistant Pastor
Ebenezer Baptist Church
Atlanta, GA

Mrs. J.F. McKibbin
Atlanta, GA

Jeffrey D. McKibbin
Atlanta, GA

Mrs. A.D. McPheeters
Atlanta, GA

Rosezell Meadows
Atlanta, GA

Susie M. Meid
Atlanta, GA

Dow Miles
Atlanta, GA

Mary Mills
Atlanta, GA

Marion Nentwig
Signal Mountain, TN

Candace Oliver
Atlanta, GA

Lili Orensberg
Martin Luther King, Jr.
Center for Social Change
Atlanta, GA

Nan S. Pendergaast
Atlanta, GA

John Pike
Citizen's Party
Decatur, GA

William A. Potter
A.M.E. Zion Church
Atlanta, GA

Verneal Powell
Atlanta, GA

Fern Richardson
ERA Georgia Inc
Chamblee, GA

Matthew J. Robbins
Tucker, GA

William Walter Robinson,
Jr.
Chattanooga, TN

Earl Shinholster
Regional Director, NAACP
Atlanta, GA

Elizabeth Siceloff
Quaker House
Atlanta, GA

Sally Slanton
Atlanta, GA

Mary Sloan
Atlanta, GA

Steven Suitts
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, GA

Dana Swan
The Youth Project
Atlanta, GA

Duane Thompson
Atlanta, GA

Dr. and Mrs. James M. Varner
Atlanta, GA

Sandra J. Walker
WGST Newsradio
Atlanta, GA

Peter White
Southern Center for
International Studies
Atlanta, GA

Diana Wilson
Executive Director
The Youth Project
Atlanta, GA

Katie Wood
WQXI Radio
Atlanta, GA

FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
MOORE AUDITORIUM
TALLAHASSEE, FL
JUNE 25, 1980

Witnesses

Nnaemeka Azikiwe
Student, recent emigre
from Nigeria
Tallahassee, FL

Alexander Bassin
Professor, Department
of Criminology
Florida State University
Tallahassee, FL

R.D. Brewer
Associate Warden
Federal Correctional
Institution
Tallahassee, FL

Peter Butzin
Executive Director
Common Cause of Florida
Tallahassee, FL

Margarita T. Castellon
Associate Director
Florida Catholic
Conference
Tallahassee, FL

James P. Etheridge
Unit Manager
Federal Correctional
Institution
Tallahassee, FL

Vernon Fox
Professor, Department
of Criminology
Florida State University
Tallahassee, FL

Bruce T. Grindal
Department of
Anthropology
Florida State University
Tallahassee, FL

Scharlette Holdman
Director, Florida Clearinghouse
on Criminal
Justice
Tallahassee, FL

Thomas A. Horkan, Jr.
Executive Director
Florida Catholic
Conference
President, National
Association of State
Catholic Conference
Directors
Tallahassee, FL

Father William Kerr
Rector of St. Thomas
More Co-Cathedral
Tallahassee, FL

Ron Lawrence
Inmate
Federal Correctional
Institution
Tallahassee, FL

Roger Peace
Student
Tallahassee Peace
Coalition
Tallahassee, FL

Rev. Canon Allen
B. Purdom
Canon to the Ordinary
Diocese of Central
Florida
Episcopal Church
Winter Park, FL

Cao Anh Quan
Student, Vietnamese
Refugee
Active in Resettlement
Programs
Tallahassee, FL

Richard L. Rubenstein
Distinguished Professor
Department of Religion
Florida State University
Tallahassee, FL

Ira Shorr
Tallahassee Peace
Coalition
Tallahassee, FL

Monsignor Bryan O. Walsh
Director, Catholic
Charities
Archdiocese of Miami
Miami, FL

Open Mike and Other Public Participants

Jack R. Ahlers
Tallahassee, FL

Opal J. Argenbright
Madison, FL

Kozmas Balkus
Tallahassee, FL

Betsy Berns
Tallahassee, FL

W.L. Brown
Tallahassee, FL

Francois Bucher
Tallahassee, FL

Patricia Burns
Tallahassee, FL

Kathryn B. Campbell
Tallahassee, FL

Lawrence R. Campbell
Tallahassee, FL

Neil Chethik
Tallahassee, FL

David W. Felder
Tallahassee, FL

Vernon Fox
Florida State University
Tallahassee, FL

Ray Frye
Athens, GA

Sidney R. Grant
Tallahassee, FL

Ronald Greer
Florida State University
Tallahassee, FL

Shimon Gottschalk
Tallahassee, FL

Paul H. Halloway
Tallahassee, FL

Paul D. Harvill
Tallahassee, FL

Thomas A. Horkan, Jr.
Tallahassee, FL

Alice Jenkins
Tallahassee, FL

Paul Joly
Tallahassee, FL

Clifton Lewis
Tallahass, FL

George Lewis
Tallahassee, FL

Rita Margolis
Tallahassee, FL

John Marshall
Tallahassee, FL

Sheryl L. Martin
WFSU-FM
Florida State University
Tallahassee, FL

Marsha Ann Maynard
Tallahassee, FL

Chuck McVoy
Tallahassee, FL

I. Jeffrey Peterson
Tallahassee, FL

Hartmut Ramm
Tallahassee, FL

M. Elizabeth Reddoch
Tallahassee, FL

Michael Rome
Tallahassee, FL

Virginia Scherak
Tallahassee, FL

Annelle B. Stark
Tallahassee, FL

E. Stevens
Tallahassee, FL

Jeff Thompson
Tallahassee, FL

Trish Thompson
Tallahassee, FL

Robert A. Walter
Miami, FL

Paul R. Weimer
Tallahassee, FL

Casey W. Weiss
Tallahassee, FL

H. Carl Whitman
Tallahassee, FL

Karen Woodall
Tallahassee, Fl

Eric Zauche
Tallahassee, FL

STATE CAPITOL AND EAST-WEST CENTER
HONOLULU, HAWAII
JULY 7-8, 1980

Witnesses

Roshi Robert Aiken
Diamond Sangha Zen
Buddhist Society
Haiku, HI

Theodore. L. Becker
Director, Community
Mediation Services
University of Hawaii
Honolulu, HI

Philip Bossert
President, Hawaii Loa College
Kaneohe, HI

William Boyer
Professor and Chair
Education Foundation
University of Hawaii
Honolulu, HI

Major General Harry Brooks (ret.)
Senior Vice President of Public Affairs
Amfac, Inc.
Honolulu, HI

Herbert C. Cornuelle
President and Chief Executive Officer
Dillingham Corporation
Honolulu, HI

Philip Ellison
Retired Dentist
Honolulu, HI

Henry Epstein
State Director
United Public Workers
Honolulu, HI

Robert Gibson
Kokua Council for Senior Citizens
Honolulu, HI

Holly Henderson
Hawaii Conference of the United Church of Christ
Honolulu, HI

Rev. Teruo Kawata
General Secretary and Conference Minister
Hawaii Conference of the United Church of Christ
Honolulu, HI

George Kent
Professor of Political Science
University of Hawaii
Honolulu, HI

Rensis Likert
Chairman of the Board
Rensis Likert Associates
Kailua, HI

Rev. Robert Mackey
Campus Minister
Chaminade University
Honolulu, HI

Phil Mayer
Executive Secretary-Treasurer
State Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO
Honolulu, Hawaii

Ah Quon McElrath
Administrative Assistant
International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union
Honolulu, HI

Rev. Robert Midgely
Central Union Church
Honolulu, HI

Rev. Patricia Mumford
Acting Director
Hawaii Council of
Churches
Honolulu, HI

Lynette Paglinawan
Assistant Professor
School of Social Work
University of Hawaii
Honolulu, HI

Rudolph J. Rummel
Professor of Political
Science
University of Hawaii
Honolulu, HI

Adam Smyser
Editor, Honolulu Star-
Bulletin
Honolulu, HI

John Southworth
Computer Services
Coordinator
Hawaii Upward Bound
Honolulu, HI

Gerald Sumida
Carlsmith, Carlsmith,
Wichman & Case
Honolullu, HI

David Trask
Executive Director
Hawaii Government
Employees Association
Honolulu, HI

Louise E. Wohl
Social Science Research
Institute
University of Hawaii
Honolulu, HI

Small Group Discussion Leaders

Monsignor Dan Dever
Superintendent
Catholic Schools of
Hawaii
Honolulu, HI

Michael Haas
Department of
Political Science
University of Hawaii
Honolulu, HI

Hideto Kono
Director of State
Department of Planning
and Economic
Development
Honolulu, HI

Norman Meller
Department of
Political Science
University of Hawaii
Honolulu, HI

Romola Morse
Past President, United
National Association
of Hawaii
Honolulu, HI

Rabbi Julius Nodel
Temple Emanuel
Honolulu, HI

Glenn Paige
Department of
Political Science
University of Hawaii
Honolulu, HI

Dan Saunders
Dean, School of Social
Work
University of Hawaii
Honolulu, HI

Toufro Seddiqui
Project Coordinator
East-West Center
Honolulu, HI

C.H. Mike Yarrow
Former Director,
International Affairs
Division
American Friends
Service Committee
Honolulu, HI

Open Mike and Other Public Participants

Scott Allen
Honolulu, HI

Eunice Beene
Dallas, TX

Merith S. Carson
Honolulu, HI

Fred Chayes
Honolulu, HI

Jim B. Chua
Honolulu, HI

Mamie M. Daniels
Operations Office
USA RSOK
APO San Francisco

Loren Davis
Honolulu, HI

Philip Ellison
Honolulu, HI

James P. Fitzsimmons
Honolulu, HI

Rev. John Paul Fritz
Honolulu, HI

Ocea Goldupp
Tucson, AZ

Margaret E.A. Halbein
Honolulu, HI

Spike Hampson
Honolulu, HI

Edgar K. Hanohano
Honolulu, HI

Renee Harris
Honolulu, HI

Sarah Jarris
Honolulu, HI

Chris B. Jones
Honolulu, HI

Kathi Kreinik
Honolulu, HI

John Larson
Haleiwa, HI

Mike Mikesell
Berkely, CA

Romola C. Morse
Honolulu, HI

Joan Nye
Honolulu, HI

Ted Ogoshi
Honolulu, HI

Olin B. Pendleton
Kaneohe, HI

Lilly E. Reiser
New York, NY

Earl Rodgers
Honolulu, HI

Daniel S. Sanders
Honolulu, HI

George Simson
Department of English
University of Hawaii
Honolulu, HI

RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
RUSSELL OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C.
JULY 22-23, 1980

Witnesses

Zelle Andrews
Director, Peace
Advocacy Project
Office for Church
in Society
United Church of Christ
Washington, D.C.

Sam Brown
Director, ACTION
Washington, D.C.

Delton Franz
Washington Representative
Mennonite Central
Committee
Washington, D.C.

Alan Geyer
Executive Director,
Center for Theology
and Public Policy
Washington, D.C.

Edmund Gullion
Ambassador Career
Minister (ret.)
Dean Emeritus, Fletcher
School of Diplomacy
Medford, MA

Wayne Horvitz
Director, Federal Mediation and Conciliation
Administration
Washington, D.C.

Robert Karsten
Vice-President for
Academic Administration
and Dean
Gustavus Adolphus College
St. Peter, MN

James Kunde
Director, Urban Affairs
The Charles F. Kettering
Foundation
Dayton, OH

Milton Mapes
National Peace Academy
Campaign
Washington, D.C.

Rev. Karl Mattson
Chaplain, Gettysburg
College
Gettysburg, PA

Robert Pranger
Director, Foreign and
Defense Studies
American Enterprise
Institute for Public
Policy Research
Washington, D.C.

Jennings Randolph
United States Senator
from West Virginia
Washington, D.C.

Smith Simpson
Foreign Service
Officer (ret.)
Member of Governing
Board, Institute for
the Study of Diplomacy
Georgetown University
Washington, D.C.

Edward Snyder
Executive Secretary
American Friends Committee
on National Legislation
Washington, D.C.

James Sprott
Dean, School of Professional Studies
Foreign Service Institute
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

Robert Stein
Environmental Mediation
International
Washington, D.C.

Murray Todd
Executive Director
Commission on International Relations
National Academy of
Sciences
Washington, D.C.

Bryant Wedge
Senior Lecturer and
Coordinator
Project on Conflict
Management
George Mason University
University of N. Virginia
Fairfax, VA

Lawrence D. Weiler
Special Assistant for
Public and Academic
Liaison
United States Arms
Control and Disarmament
Agency
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

Open Mike and Other Public Participants

Paul Albritton
Washington, D.C.

Heidi J. Alford
Washington, D.C.

Robert Alpern
Unitarian Universalist
Association
Washington, D.C.

Nancy Ambrose
Washington, D.C.

Prince Ahmed Baduh
Washington, D.C.

Edward Behre
Sandy Springs, MD

Tom Blodget
Chico, CA

Lawrence Bott
Vienna, VA

Joan Carey
NETWORK
Washington, D.C.

Steve Corbett
Bethesda, MD

Rev. Jack Corbett
United Methodist Board
of Church in Society
Washington, D.C.

Beverly Crute
The American Youth
Foundation
St. Louis, MO

Barbara A. Cullom
Mt. Ranier, ND

Sabrina Dames
United Methodist
Communications
Washington, D.C.

Mr. & Mrs. A.J. Davis
Arlington, VA

Cindy Delaney
Washington, D.C.

Kent Dudley
Palm Harbor, FL

Maire A. Dugan
Center for Peaceful
Change
Kent State University
Kent, OH

Alison Dundes
Harvard-Radcliffe
Cambridge, MA

Marcus Nathaniel Ely
Indianapolis, IN

Cathy Feil
Washington, D.C.

Clark Foerster
Washington, D.C.

Gregory D. Foster
Fairfax, VA

Steven M. Fry
Chicago Ridge, IL

Margaret E. Fussell
Arlington, VA

Judy Gerardot
Concord, CA

David Geyer
Washington, D.C.

Kathy Geocke
NETWORK
Washington, D.C.

Joan Gunderman
Baltimore, MD

Merle Gunderman
Baltimore, MD

Ronald P. Hanft
Church of the Bretheren

E.B. Hoffman
Federal Mediation and
Conciliation Service
Washington, D.C.

Alford Jenkins
Front Royal, VA

Jennifer Kaplan
Lexington, KY

Arthur J. Kendall
Social Research
Consultants
Washington, D.C.

Helmut Kimpel
Mt. Rainier, MD

John A. Kloetzel
Catonsville, MD

Mary R. Lawrence
Catonsville, MD

Thomas P. Lawrence
Catonsville, MD

Dorothy Leawitt
Washington, D.C.

David N. Levin
Office of International
Education
Department of Education
Washington, D.C.

Jonathan Lowell
Berkeley, CA

Kenneth Lutterman
Rockville, MD

Jane L. Manring
McLean, VA

Rev. Robert McChesney,
S.J.
Gonzaga High School
Washington, D.C.

Sharon Minnich
Washington, D.C.

Darryl G. Moore
Fontana, CA

Marre Moore
NETWORK
Washington, D.C.

Pat Mortenson
Washington, D.C.

Raymond Myers
McLean, VA

Peter G. Neeley, S.J.
Chicago, IL

William E. Odom
Washington, D.C.

Don Ottens, Jr.
Lansing, MI

Paul D. Oyer
Alexandria, VA

Ronald Pagnusso
Washington, D.C.

Hugh M. Pease
Alexandria, VA

John Portella
College Park, MD

Gail E. Ranadive
Alexandria, VA

Jim Respess
Keswick, VA

Nick Rouch
Erie, PA

Peg & Taylor Russell
Arlington, VA

Dennis Sandole
Arlington, VA

Rev. Thomas J. Schaab
University City, MO

Dale R. Schmidt
Alexandria, VA

Tom Schneider
Kettering, OH

Constance Schwab
Columbia, MD

Mack W. Schwab
Columbia, MD

William B. Settlemyer
Berwyn, PA

Elisabeth Shearer
Arlington, VA

Jerrell Simmerman
Bloomington, IN

N.H. Simpson
Washington, D.C.

Harold D. Smith
Hyattsville, MD

Ken K. Smith
University Park, MD

Rev. Arthur J. Stienstra
Silver Spring, MD

J. Talerico
Arlington, VA

Ellen Tharp
Ellicatt, MD

Elizabeth Torre
New Orleans, LA

Ben Tousley
Unitarian Universalist
  Association
Washington, D.C.

Paul Van Driessche, Jr.
Washington, D.C.

C. Thomas Van Vechten
Chevy Chase, MD

Charlotte Voorde
Washington, D.C.

Velma R. Waygandt
Berwyn Heights, MD

W. Earl Waygandt
Berwyn Heights, MD

Betty Williams
Washington, D.C.

Sandra Jo Wilson
Bowie, MD

Gerald F. Winfield
McLean, VA

Louise Winfield
McLean, VA

Ellen Withrow
Washington, D.C.

Bessie P. Yeh
Washington, D.C.

M.R. Zigler
On Earth Peace Assembly
Brethren Service Center
New Windsor, MD

Appendix F

Bibliography

A: BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND SURVEYS

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NOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY. New York: Center for War/Peace Studies, 1972.

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